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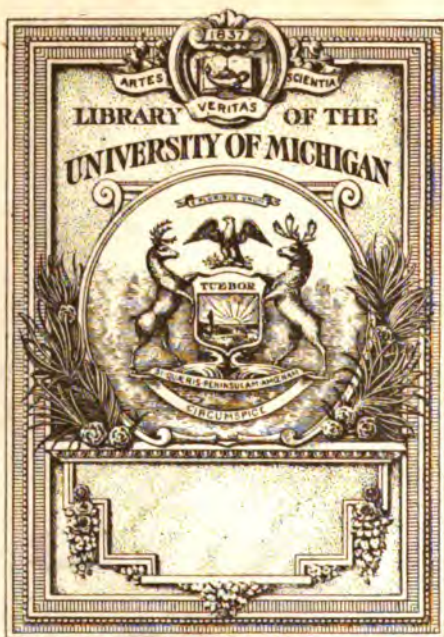
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LETTERS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE,

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE,

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ST. JOHN,
LORD VISC. BOLINGBROKE;

DURING THE TIME HE WAS

SECRETARY OF STATE

TO

QUEEN ANNE;

WITH

STATE PAPERS, EXPLANATORY NOTES, AND A
TRANSLATION OF THE FOREIGN LETTERS, &c.

By GILBERT PARKE, WADH. COLL. OXON.

CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1798.

LETTERS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

*To the Earl of Strafford.**

MY LORD,

Hampton Court, 21st November, 1711.

BEFORE I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's several letters, or give any answer to the particulars contained in them, I must acquaint your Excellency with what has passed here, in the conferences which Mr. Buys has had.

On Saturday last, he came to this place, and I introduced him, in the evening, to a private audience of the Queen; he spoke to her Majesty in the style of the resolution of the 21st, N.S. and laid a very great stress upon that mark of deference, which his masters show in giving up even their own opinion, to comply with what her Majesty

* Public letter.

VOL. II.

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desires of them. The Queen told him, that she was extremely pleased to hear, that the States had at last reposed that confidence in her, which she had always endeavoured to deserve of them; that they should find this confidence not ill placed, and that she would support their interest to the utmost, in the ensuing treaty. The Queen took notice very kindly to him, of the part that she believed he had acted in this whole affair; she thanked him for the just accounts and true representation, which he had sent into Holland of what passes here. The Queen concluded by referring him for particulars to the conferences, which she had appointed to be held at the cockpit.

On Monday we met twice at the Earl of Dartmouth's office, where he was told that the Queen had directed my Lords to concert and settle with him, first, the time, the place of congress, and the manner of inviting the allies to it; after which they would proceed to consider the particular interests of the several allies; how those demands shall be, on this occasion, stated; and what it may be proper for the Queen and States jointly to insist upon. The result of these conferences

conferences was, our agreeing on the form of a circular letter, copies of which, both in Latin and French, are inclosed to your Excellency; those which go to the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Elector Palatin, have been sent by me to their respective ministers, as those to the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy have been given to their ministers by the Earl of Dartmouth. The rest of these letters, except that for the Duke of Mecklenburg, which is transmitted to Mr. Wich*, accompany this packet; and I am directed by her Majesty to acquaint your Excellency, that it is her pleasure, that you do either deliver them to such ministers as may be proper at the Hague, or get them sent to the Minister of the States, where they have one, and the Queen has none, as in the case of Frankfort and Ratisbon.

As your Excellency has given notice to France, of the resolution of the States, so shall I do of what has followed on this side, and of the dispatch of the circular letters of invitation.

* Resident at the Hanse Towns.

The extract of Mr. Chetwynd's* letter, will, I believe, be of use to your Excellency, when the great regard which we ought to have to the Emperor, is thrown in your way. It is very hard, after all the Queen has done for that family, and for that Prince

* Resident at Genoa ; the extract is as follows :

Extract of a Letter from Mr. W. Chetwynd to the Earl of Dartmouth.

“ MY LORD, Genoa, 13th October, 1711, N.S.

“ GOING on board to wait upon the King of Spain (1) lying at an anchor in this road, his Majesty was pleased to call me to him, and asked me, whether I had any news that private negotiations were carrying on for a peace in England? My answer was, that this was the first syllable I had ever heard of any such thing; adding, that if a negotiation of that nature was on foot, no doubt but his Majesty would have been informed of it by Count Gallas, not being to be imagined that the Queen would hearken to any proposition from France, without communicating them immediately to his Majesty's minister, and to others of the allies.

“ The King said, he was of the same opinion, and not willing to think otherwise; though he could not help saying, he had reason at the same time to suspect what had been suggested to him on that head, purely by his subsidies wanting more this year than ever, and by the little care taken of late to support the war in Spain. Continuing on this subject for some time, his Majesty at last ended by telling me, that if he did not find things change, and more fervour in England to support affairs in Spain, he should be obliged the first to take care of himself, as he did not doubt, but every branch of the alliance would afterwards do; and desired I would write this to the Queen, assuring her Majesty, however, of his firmity, so long as she would stand by him and assist him. These are, to the best of my remembrance, the expressions the King made use of, and what I thought my duty to inform your Lordship of by the first occasion, as likewise that this discourse was the product of some letters the King had received that morning by a Courier from Count Gallas

(1) The Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor of Germany.

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in particular, that his obligations to her are to be forgot, unless she continues a war, the load of which, has already half-ruined her subjects, and which is become impracticable by his own fault, and by that of his brother.

There comes likewise inclosed, a copy of the article, signed by Mesnager *, which relates to the interest of the Duke of Savoy. I remember, that some time ago, I writ to your Excellency fully upon that subject, and shall therefore avoid any unnecessary repetition here.

It is now past twelve o'clock, so that I dispatch the messenger, lest the packet-boat,

* “ *Article Séparé.* ”

“ Le Roi promet de rendre à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, les domaines et territoires qui appartiennent à ce Prince au commencement de la présente guerre, et que sa Majesté possède présentement; assurant de plus, qu'elle consentira qu'il soit encore cédé à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye telles autres places en Italie qu'on trouvera nécessaire au sens des traités faits entre ce Prince et ses alliés.

“ En vertu du plein pouvoir du Roi, dont nous avons fourni copie, signée de notre main, nous soussigné, Chevalier de son ordre de St. Michel, député au Conseil de Commerce, avons arrêté le présent article préliminaire; & promettons au nom de sa Majesté, qu'il aura son effet & exécution en cas de signature de la paix générale, comme s'il étoit inséré dans les autres articles préliminaires de nous arrêtés ce jourd'hui. En foi de quoi nous avons signé, et mis le cachet de nos armes. Fait à Londres, le vingt-septième Septembre, Vieux Stile, et du nouveau le huitième Octobre, mille sept cents onze.

(L. S.) “ MESNAGER.”

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which

which stays at Harwich for him, should be too long detained; at the end of the week I shall send another, and by that opportunity shall add, what I now omit.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 23d November, 1711.

THERE has been a conference this morning, at the cock-pit, with Monsieur Buys, wherein several incidents happened, which took up the whole time, and which hindered us from going upon the subject for which we were immediately summoned.

To-morrow, at twelve, we meet again, and, I hope, we shall then make some progress towards knowing each others minds as to the points proper to be jointly insisted upon in the future negotiation.

The Ministers of King Augustus, and of the Elector Palatine, pressed very hard to have circular letters of invitation addressed

* Public letter.

to their masters, in the same form as to the other Princes and States who have entered specifically into the grand alliance.

The former pretended the merit of his master in the war, and his quality of Vicar of the Empire; he urged, indeed, that as Elector of Saxony he had acceded, to use the term of art, to the aforementioned alliance, but of this he could produce no proofs, neither do we find any.

The latter not only set forth these pretensions, but insisted positively, that his master had, before the King's death, been invited into the grand alliance, and that he had entered into the same in form, and of this we find some evidence in our books.

There is an entry of a letter from the Elector Palatine to the late king, of the 22d November, 1701, wherein he recites such an invitation, and accepts it; *accedo & paginae annexæ subscribo*, says the letter, but the original, or any copies of the annexed paper, is not to be found.

The opinion of the Lords, in concert with Mr. Buys, and to which I make no doubt but her Majesty will agree to-morrow, at her return from Hampton Court, was,

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that

that a letter of invitation should be writ to the Elector Palatine, as a member of the grand alliance; and that two others should be writ, to him, and to King Augustus, in the quality of Vicars, but that these should be simply letters of notification.

On consideration of your Excellency's dispatch of the 27th, my Lords were of opinion that her Majesty should please to confirm, by her orders, all that you gave as advice to Mr. Cadogan. Buys had nothing to say in defence either of the treaty of contributions*, or of the concealment of it from her Majesty's servants.

There can be no room to doubt of the Queen's approbation of this minute of the Committee of council, since it is agreeable to all her declarations. Monsieur Buys was desired to write upon the subject into Holland, and I think your Excellency ought to

* The Editor has an original *Mémoire*, sent, in January, 1712-13, to Lord Bolingbroke by Mr. Harrison, entitled, *Mémoire de ce que les Etats-Généraux ont tiré des Contributions & autres des Pays-Bas, depuis le Commencement de la Guerre, jusqu'à l'An 1712*; by this it appears, that the Dutch, in the conquered countries, reserved to themselves taxes, customs, &c. and under the name of contributions, subsidies, aides, droits d'entrées & de sortir, drew an immense revenue from French and Spanish Flanders.

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affect to press the Dutch, the Imperialists, and all the other friends of war, and enemies of peace, to exert themselves, to prepare for the next campaign, and to show by their actions that they design to proceed with greater vigour than they have hitherto done; for, my Lord, it were better that any peace were made, than that Britain continued to empty the bottom of her bag for those who will not retrench even superfluities for themselves,

The last point which was this morning in debate, Monsieur Buys started, and though he did not say he had instructions to insist upon it before he delivered the passports, yet he did not deny it, when the question was put to him.

This proposition was, that France should be acquainted, the Queen and States insist, that the Ministers of the Duke of Anjou, and of the *ci-devant* Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, shall not come into the congress, until those points which may relate to them are adjusted; and that, farther, the Queen and the States are firmly resolved not to send passports for the Ministers of France, unless the French King do previously declare, that

that the exclusion of the before-mentioned Ministers shall occasion no delay to the progress of the treaty.

This minute has been taken *ad referendum*, and will be laid before the Queen to-morrow. I shall not fail to acquaint your Excellency by the mail of Tuesday, with her Majesty's determination upon it; in the mean time, there can be no dispute, but that these Ministers must not be received until what relates to their masters is settled in the congress, and the only difficulty seems to be in point of time, whether the passports should not be sent to France, and this declaration accompany them.

Before I conclude, I would offer it to your Excellency, to turn your thoughts how you are to lay down your character of Ambassador, at Utrecht, whilst you act as Plenipotentiary in the treaty of peace. I have a confused notion that there are precedents of this kind, if the particulars occur to me, I will communicate them to you.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

I have received your letter by Major Cecil,
and

and shall be glad to have it in my power to serve so honest a man.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 25^{me} Novembre, V.S. 1711.

LA lettre ci-jointe*, a été écrite à l'instance du Ministre des Etats-Généraux, qui a insisté de recevoir la déclaration qu'on y demande avant que d'envoyer les passeports pour vos plénipotentiaires. La Reine a consenti d'autant plus facilement à faire cette démarche, parce qu'elle ne doute pas que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne ne lève d'abord la difficulté, & que par conséquent, le congrès ne s'ouvre au jour qui a été fixé.

Il faut, Monsieur, que ceux qui souhaitent la paix s'entr'aident de part & d'autre, & travaillent à finir le traité assez à tems pour ne pas être exposés aux événemens d'une autre campagne. Nous ferons tout ce qui dépend de nous, pour fixer les prétensions de nos alliés, & nous espérons

* To Torcy, of the same date.

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par

par ce moyen faciliter. & abrégé l'ouvrage de Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires.

Je vous suis extrêmement obligé de l'honneur de votre lettre du 18me de ce mois, que j'ai reçue par le Sieur Gaultier ; & je vous prie d'être persuadé qu'on se servira du mémoire* qu'il nous a remis avec beaucoup de retenue, & que le secret sera inviolablement gardé.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 25me Novembre, 1711.

LES Seigneurs Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies, ayant concouru par leur résolution du 21me de ce mois, N.S. avec sa Majesté, pour faciliter l'ouverture d'une négociation d'une paix bonne & générale, j'ai ordre de vous communiquer ce qui a été résolu d'un commun concert, entre sa Ma-

* This *Mémoire*, which contained the concessions intended by France as the basis of a general peace, will appear in the sequel.

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jesté & les dits Seigneurs Etats, à cette fin :

Premièrement, Le lieu qui a paru le plus propre pour le Congrès, a été la ville d'Utrecht*.

Secondement, Le douzième de Janvier prochain, N.S. a été fixé pour l'ouverture du dit Congrès.

Troisièmement, Il a été arrêté que les Ministres de la Reine, & les Seigneurs Etats s'y rendront en qualité de Ministres Plénipotentiaires, & qu'ils ne prendront sur eux le caractère d'Ambassadeurs que le jour de la signature de la paix, afin d'éviter, le plus qu'il sera possible, l'embarras des cérémonies, & les longueurs qui en pourroient naître.

Quatrièmement, La Reine, & les Seigneurs Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies, insistent que les Ministres du Duc d'Anjou, & des ci-devant Electeurs de Bavière & Cologne, n'entreront pas au Congrès jusqu'à ce que les points qui les pourroient regar-

* Between Pensionary Heinsius and the French Ministry, no good understanding subsisted : the Pensionary was Keeper of the Seals, and, consequently, could not leave the Hague; therefore, to prevent his being a Plenipotentiary at the Congress, the French Ministry intentionally left the Hague out of the list of places for treating.

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der aient été ajustés. Et la Reine, & les dits Seigneurs Etats sont fermement résolus de ne pas envoyer les passeports pour les Ministres de France, que le Roi Très Chrétien n'ait préalablement déclaré que l'absence des Ministres susmentionnés, ne tardera pas le progrès de la négociation.

Des lettres circulaires ont été déjà écrites par sa Majesté à tous les alliés qui sont engagés dans la présente guerre, en conformité des trois premiers articles ci-dessus spécifiés; & la Reine m'ordonne de vous faire savoir, que d'aborder qu'elle recevra la déclaration de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, sur le dernier de ces quatre articles, les passeports qui sont présentement ici en blanc, vous seront envoyés, les noms de Monsieur le Maréchal d'Uxelles, de Monsieur l'Abbé Polignac, & du Sieur Mefnager y étant insérés, à moins que le Roi n'ait fait quelque changement à la première nomination de ses Plénipotentiaires, dont vous m'avez donné part.

Comme non-seulement les Ministres de sa Majesté, mais aussi de plusieurs de ceux de ses alliés, qui doivent assister au traité de paix futur sont présentement ici, j'ai à
vous

vous prier, Monsieur, de m'envoyer les passeports nécessaires, pour qu'ils puissent se rendre en Hollande avec plus de sûreté.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 27th, 1711.

I ACKNOWLEDGE the honour of your Excellency's letters of the 2d of Decèmbër, and of the 4th, N.S.

To tell you that the Queen is extremely satisfied with your conduct, is no compliment, but strictly the truth. In the midst of clamour, as well as artifice, you have pursued her Majesty's instructions with that steadiness and vigour, which only could have produced the compliance we now meet with.

Your Excellency may depend upon my exactness in sending you accounts of all that passes relating to the negociation. I know too well how necessary it is, that you

* Public Letter.

should

should have all the light, and all the assistance we can procure for you, to omit any article of this kind.

Her Majesty, having approved of the minute of council, which was drawn on the proposition made by Monsieur Buys, I wrote to Monsieur de Torcy, on Sunday, and a copy of my letter comes herewith inclosed.

The truth is, the caution appeared to every one here entirely vain ; since, in common sense, the Ministers of those three princes can be no parties at the treaty, until their masters' interests are settled, and until it be agreed in what qualities they shall be acknowledged by the allies ; since, if the condition of France be as bad as the advocates for war pretend, and as I incline to believe it is, we have no reason to imagine the French will, by artificial delays, expose this treaty to the events of another campaign ; and since, from the first moment that there have been *pour-parlers* about the peace, it has been always understood and agreed that the negociation should be singly carried on with France.

However, the Queen, who is desirous in every thing, where her honour, and the interest

interest of Britain will allow thereof, to comply with the measures of the States, and the proposals of their Ministers, thought fit to give way upon this occasion; considering farther, that the answer to my letter may return time enough for the passports to be sent from hence in less than a fortnight.

The hopes which Monsieur Buys has given to his masters concerning their barrier and commerce are very well founded. We have not yet entered into any particulars with him upon that head; to-morrow, I believe, we shall; and, in the mean time, I think your Excellency will do well to renew the Queen's assurances to them.

You may imagine it was some check to us, to find that several Ministers among the States, had expressed their dislike of the Queen's proceedings, and even of their own concurrence with them; and he must play a very dangerous game, who shows all his cards to the man that bets openly on the other side. But they begin, however, now to take the sure, and, I add, the only way of obtaining the Queen's confidence. Monsieur Buys must have justice done him, his conduct here has been irreproachable, though

many temptations and many snares were laid in his way.

As to the rest of our allies, they will have no reason to complain, and her Majesty commands me particularly to mention to your Excellency, the pleasure with which she received the account which your last dispatches gave of the King of Prussia's conduct, and of his answer to the extraordinary letter of the Emperor. The Queen, my Lord, expected no less from the affection of so good an ally, and from the generosity of so great a prince; and she is firmly resolved to show her sense of the obligation, by supporting the interests of his Prussian Majesty, in the course of this negotiation, and by taking all opportunities of uniting, still more closely, the bands of alliance between the two crowns, as well during the war, as after the peace.

When we have gone over the particular interests of the allies with Monsieur Buys, I shall be able to speak more clearly, and with better authority to your Excellency, than I can do at present, for which reason I avoid entering on that subject.

I hope, that long before this reaches you,

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our letters will be come to hand, with the accounts of the steps made here, in concert with Mr. Buys, when we first received the resolution of the States, of the 21st of last month; and that, by consequence, the Ministers will be no more in doubt, whom your Excellency represents under so much uneasiness.

As to my little friend, Del Borgo, be pleased to let him know, that if his intelligence concerning a treaty, signed with Mesnager, costs him any thing, it costs him too much; and methinks, after so many solemn assurances on the Queen's part, that she has made no separate treaty with the enemy, it does not very well become him, or any one else, to suppose it.

Mr. Tilson * takes care to send your Excellency a copy of what I write to Mr. Scott, concerning the affairs of the North, which is all that her Majesty thinks can be resolved upon at this time, and in these circumstances.

We shall press on here as much as possible, the recruit of our troops, and the pre-

* One of the Under-secretaries in Lord Bolingbroke's office.

parations for the next year, in order to which, several treaties are to be renewed. I do not foresee any great difficulty in any, except that of Saxony, and that of Denmark. Surely, my Lord, both these might be made on easier terms, whilst there is an expectation of a peace with France, and by consequence of our being no longer in the condition of receiving the law. The Queen desires your Excellency should speak with the Pensionary in this affair, and particularly tell him, that she hopes the States will agree with her, in choosing rather not to have the Saxon troops at all, than to have them on such precarious terms, and in so lamentable a state, as we had them the last summer.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 27th, 1711.

HURRIED as I am, you shall have two words in private from me.

I cannot help thinking, your answer to
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the Pensionary very just, and I suppose your Excellency will hear no more of that complaint; they should be less apt to dispute with the Queen, about a prerogative which they have been obliged to her for getting, and must be obliged to her for keeping.

Barlow's simplicity was very ridiculous; the fellow is, I think, strictly honest and punctual, and I have always trusted him. We are, in truth, ill provided with messengers, and it is a little absurd that they, whose only business is to attend the Secretaries of State, and to be employed by them, are under the Chamberlain's direction. The Duke of Shrewsbury has had but one vacancy in his time.

The paragraph in my public letter, relating to the King of Prussia, is calculated for your Excellency, to show his Minister, or to send to Berlin, according to her Majesty's order.

The Parliament is prorogued to the 7th of next month, at which time we shall sit without fail.

I am, ever, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 30th November, 1711.

A COMMISSION is ordered to be prepared to pass under the great seal, empowering your Excellency to renew such treaties for troops, for the service of the next year, as are necessary. Some of them, as particularly that with the Elector of Hanover, are matters of form, and have been yearly renewed in the same words; but others will, perhaps, meet with some difficulties, and require your Excellency's address in getting them settled advantageously.

When the full power is ready, I will take care to have it dispatched to you.

In the mean time, your Excellency will be pleased to turn your thoughts that way, and forward the matter as much as possible.

As to the renewal of the treaties for the Danish troops, and those of King Augustus, that will depend on the negotiations at the Hague; and your Excellency is already sufficiently instructed concerning the Queen's intentions, for your conduct in that affair,

* Public letter.

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In relation to the Prussian troops, it is her Majesty's pleasure, that you should consult with the States, how we shall best secure the service of that whole corps for another year, if we want them, without any danger of having them withdrawn, particularly in regard to the eight thousand men in Italy; the treaty for which, I find, has not been renewed for these two years past, but their service has been continued, upon a promise of paying them as before, though the treaty were not made in form.

Upon this subject, I must inform your Excellency, that Monsieur Bonet* has procured a full power to himself to sign a convention, for the Queen's two-thirds of the seventy thousand crowns, demanded for the charge of recruiting the Italian corps; he got this power sent to him from his court, upon an objection made by Mr., Brydges, the paymaster of the forces, among other expedients used to delay the payment of that money as long as possible, that he could not have his accounts passed, according to the rules of the exchequer, unless the demand he made was grounded upon some formal agreement be-

* The Prussian Resident.

tween the two crowns. But I find this full power to have only a retrospect, and to authorize him no farther than to sign a convention for the year 1710, and for this year; which seems a little absurd. However, the artifice that lies hid under this proceeding, is to get this arrear paid before they enter upon any treaty with us for the continuance of their troops in our service this next year; which is just the thing we ought to avoid, since we may certainly make a new treaty much more easily, and upon better terms, whilst we keep such a sum of money in our hands, than we should, if we once let it go.

We hope we shall be able to make this treaty without any such demands from the Prussian court, as hindered the renewing of it for these two last years, and without any other demands which may entangle us still farther, and draw us into fresh expences, or other inconveniencies; and, in that case, I believe the Queen would be glad to have the renewal made in form, otherwise your Excellency will please to speak to the Pensionary concerning the properest expedient for being sure of these troops; which in all likelihood will be less difficult, since at this
time

time that the negotiations of peace are going to be opened, the King of Prussia will stand so much in need of her Majesty's good offices in his pretensions.

What your Excellency mentions in your's of the 2d of December, from Monsieur Gerfdorff*, has been done already; and it is some time ago since her Majesty wrote such a letter as is desired to the Electress Dowager of Saxony upon the subject of the danger of the young Prince Electoral's changing his religion.

The conferences continue with Monsieur Buys; but I must say upon no very good foot, in my opinion, since he is not empowered to agree to any thing relating to our common interests in the future treaty, since he can only speak as Monsieur Buys, and expects that we should speak from the Queen.

In a week's time I shall be able to send your Excellency the result of these debates.

The Count de Maffei was this morning at the cockpit, with the Lords of the Council. He pressed with great earnestness that the Queen would enter into an immediate and

* Saxon Envoy to the States-General.

formal

formal engagement with his master, both as to his barrier against France, and as to his aggrandisement on the side of Italy. An answer will in the beginning of the next week, be given him, when his instances have been reported to the Queen.

On the head of the barrier, there can be no difficulty; our engagements and the common interest exact from us that we should take care of his security. His aggrandisement is a matter of more difficult discussion, and will depend on the disposition of the Spanish monarchy. I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 30, 1711.

THERE are so many things are proper or even necessary to be said to your Excellency, which are, at the same time, not conveniently to be inserted in a public dispatch, that I am obliged to give you, almost every post, the trouble of a private letter.

I must observe, and I think your Excellency may give the hints sometimes where
you

you are, that they do not entirely keep up with the Queen to that character of confidence, and open heartedness, which they recommend to our practice, as absolutely necessary for the mutual advantage of both nations in this critical conjuncture of affairs. We have for many months insinuated to the Dutch Ministers; nay, your Excellency, before you came from Holland in the summer, actually and expressly told the Pensionary, that the Queen intended to proceed without any reserve towards the States, that she was ready to give and to receive a free communication of thoughts, and to concert in such a manner that England and Holland might act as one power. What has all this produced? For several months Vryberge was here whom we could not trust; after that, no minister, on their part, resided at the Queen's court; when your Excellency came over, they refused to instruct you in any particulars; and now the Pensionary of Amsterdam is here, he neither knows the minds of his masters on the subject of the barrier, commerce, or any other head. My Lord, we are not deceived, we see through this slight veil. They propose two things to themselves,

themselves, first pumping our secret, and engaging the Queen, without disclosing their own, or binding themselves. Secondly, they appear to negotiate, and by this amusement gain time, till they see what turn the parliament will take, and what is likely to be the effect of the cabals of their friends the Whigs: by these artifices they may hurt the common interest, but they will do themselves no service.

I find the Duke of Savoy grows cool, as to the proposition of marriage; he would fain get the rest of Milan, under pretence of being recompenced for the loss of his reversion of the Spanish monarchy; and he likes the fortune best without the wife, or else hopes to obtain something farther as a dower with the Arch-Duchess. Is it impossible that this new turn may be taken in concert with France? I hope the King of Prussia will be pleased with the Queen's sense of his proceeding. We know very well how much his conduct must be owing to your Excellency's good council; and prevalent influence. Mr. Breton will go to Berlin in a short time; but as he is not yet declared, I
desire

desire you to mention his name yet a while to nobody. I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 4, 1711.

AS I sat down early this morning to begin my dispatches, in answer to your Excellency's letters of the 8th and 11th, N.S. Barlow arrived, and brought me those of the 12th.

I must begin by taking notice of those frequent reproaches which I meet with from your Excellency, as if you was not trusted even in those matters which belong to the negociation at this time in your hands.

I am sorry, my Lord, that my manner of acting is so awkward as to make me appear reserved, where I endeavour most to be frank. On the other side, your Excellency must allow me to tell you, that you very frequently over-think the point, imagine great secrets to lie latent where really there are none; and, by consequence, blame your friends for not communicating what they do not know. Besides, there are some things of no small consequence that escape me in writing,

writing, like the prorogation of the parliament. These become matters of moment in Holland, and your Excellency wonders that you do not hear of them from me. For God's sake, my Lord, lay aside these jealousies; little omissions would be made sometimes by the greatest men, if they were involved in as much business as the Queen thinks fit to trust to me, much more may I be allowed to mistake. The tenor of my conduct shall be always right; and as to your Excellency in particular, I am not conscious to myself that in the least article I have ever departed from the strictest friendship, and the most unlimited confidence.

You will be of opinion, I believe, when you have read my tedious relation, that the Queen's servants have left Buys without any reproach to make. Since he first spoke against the method of proceeding without specific preliminaries, I do not know that he has either instructions or powers upon any one article; and yet whenever he has called upon my Lords, to open themselves to him, they have done it with the utmost frankness.

I think your Excellency should take the trouble of talking with the Pensionary, with
Monfieur

Monfieur Gofflinga*, and with any others who may be well intentioned, and yet impoſed upon by falſe alarms, that you ſhould ſhow them how much better it is to proceed with frankneſs, by which they will entirely gain the Queen, than to endeavour to overreach us by negociation, in which I hardly believe they will prevail. Let them remove the danger which we apprehended from the barrier-treaty by proper expedients; let them conſider with themſelves, how far they may ſafely or prudently yield in this article, and what they muſt finally inſiſt upon; the Queen is ready not only to join with her beſt endeavours, but to declare to the French, that unleſs her good allies the States are gratified in theſe demands, ſhe will think of peace no more, but will break the negociation, and renew the war.

As to the particulars which your Excellency enters into, I muſt obſerve to you, that her Majeſty's part in this whole affair is that of a mediatrice; and that it will be the addreſs of her Miniſters to make uſe of occurrences, to act *pro re natâ*, in a great

* Deputy to the States-General for the province of Frieſland; he was many years a field-deputy with the army in Flanders.

meaſure,

measure, to avoid, on one hand, suffering our allies to break the peace by excessive demands, or by unreasonable difficulties; and, on the other hand, to hinder the enemy from imposing on us and them: for instance, in my own opinion, I think that if we obtain for the barrier of the States from France, besides those towns belonging to Spain which they are to have, Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lille, or even the first of these two last, together with the Chatellenies and countries belonging to them, we make a very good bargain, and such an one as the Dutch ought to be contented with; at the same time my private opinion is, that we ought, in compliance to their desires, to endeavour to prevail for more. The project which came some time ago from France is of no manner of use, and the knowledge of it could only have an ill effect.

The enemy must go a great many lengths further, and intends to do so; but that Court is not able to lay aside their habits of chicanery, however unseasonable. We deferred sending any answer till we had proceeded with Monsieur Buys, and till we had farther lights into the pretensions of other allies;
but

but now I believe a memorial in reply will be drawn, and sent to Monsieur Torcy, sufficient to refute his reasonings; and to show them, that they must make larger advances towards the several parties engaged with us in the present war, if they expect a peace, which may remove that which has hitherto been the great stumbling block.

We have used great firmness towards our confederates, otherwise we could have expected no peace at all. We must exercise the same towards our enemies, otherwise a good peace cannot possibly ensue.

I send you the project above-mentioned; but as it has never been laid before the Cabinet Council, I must desire your Excellency never to part with it out of your own custody, nor to leave a possibility to any man living to know the contents of it.

Use both this private dispatch, and the public one, as you think fit, and shew to the Pensionary what you judge proper.

On the subject of Prince Eugene, the Queen commands me to tell your Excellency, that you are to affect to say, that whoever comes from the Emperor will be welcome to her Majesty, but that his Highness cannot

Vol. II.

D

come

come over hither without great speculation. —That in this critical time, when jealousies run so high, the Queen will take no single measure except in concert with the States; for which reason, every thing will be transacted much more speedily at the Hague than here.

Friday next the peace will be attacked in Parliament, indirectly; I am glad of it, for I hate a distant danger which hovers over my head: we must receive their fire, and rout them once for all.

Adieu, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 4th Dec. 1711.

AFTER having considered on Friday among themselves in what manner and method to proceed with Monsieur Buys, the Lords of the Council met him on Saturday morning at another conference; where it fell to my share to tell him, that since the end proposed by these meetings and debates was to come to a right understanding in each

* Public letter.

others intentions, to settle the principal points of the future negociation of peace, and to prevent, by a previous concert between the Queen and the States, any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty, it was to be wished that his instructions had been more particular, and his powers more ample, that we might have treated with him in the Queen's name, and have finally concluded several points which ought to be decided between us before we come to the congress; but, however, to do all that is possible to so good a purpose on our part, that my Lords of the Council had given me directions to acquaint him with some of the reflections which they have made, and with some of the opinions which they are come to, when they have had amongst themselves the great affair of peace under consideration.

After this introduction, Monsieur Buys was told, that though the pretence of obtaining a barrier for the States-General be only their greater security against France, yet my Lords observed, that by the treaty between her Majesty and his masters, as it now stands, infinite prejudice may arise to the trade of Great Britain in the Spanish Netherlands: by the

15th article of this treaty, in consequence of what is stipulated in the treaty of Munster, article the 14th, her Majesty engages that commerce shall not be rendered, directly or indirectly, more easy by the sea-ports of Flanders than by the river of Schelde * and by the canals on the side of the Seven Provinces.

My Lords took notice, that here was a very great, and a very unfair omission, since although, when the treaty of Munster was made, in which, by the way, Britain had little or no share, and as long as the neighbouring countries are in the possession of Spain, France, or any third power, this article was, and will be, equal and reasonable; yet the case becomes widely altered when considerable parts of these provinces are be put into the hands of the Dutch. The question was illustrated by this instance: a British merchant imports by Ostend, and a Dutch merchant by the Schelde, two pieces of cloth, of the same value, and paying the same duty. They carry afterwards this cloth

* Which river, by the 14th article of the treaty of Munster, as also the canals of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, were to be kept shut on the side of the States.

to Lifle, which is in the hands of the French, and there again they pay fuch a duty as, by the tariffs of France, is eftablifhed. In all this, there is no partiality whatfoever : and thus far, and no farther, would the treaty of Munfter affect our commerce. But when Lifle fhall belong to the States-General, as by the barrier-treaty it is to do, then may the Dutch merchant, who imported his cloth by the Schelde, enter the fame, perhaps, custom-free, at this town, whilft a high duty, or even a prohibition, may be laid upon that cloth which the Britifh merchant imported by Oftend. Upon thefe confiderations, and many more which were urged, my Lords told Monsieur Buys, very frankly, their opinion was, that if the States expected the Queen fhould, in good earneft, and with vigour, fupport the treaty of barrier, and their demands both of France and of the Houfe of Auftria upon that head, they ought to enter into a previous and formal engagement, that the fubjects of Great Britain fhall trade on as free and advantageous foot to all the countries and places, which fhall become, by virtue of any former or any future treaty, the barrier of the States-General, as

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they

they did in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles the Second, or as the subjects of the States-General themselves shall do.

The omission of this was certainly a very great defect in the treaty made by my Lord Townshend. And it was represented to Monsieur Buys, that we hoped the States would never scruple rectifying a mistake so injurious to that nation, without the blood and treasure of which, they could have had no barrier at all.

Upon this Monsieur Buys attempted to say a good deal, by way of compliment, and extenuation; but being unable to answer the reasons that were urged, he at last acquiesced; and said, that on the hints which had been given him before, he had already writ for instructions, by which to govern himself in this case.

We proceeded next to the article of commerce; and my Lords agreed with the Envoy, that it was reasonable her Majesty should insist upon, and endeavour to obtain for the States, what is stipulated in their favour by the treaty of Ryswick, the tariff of 1664, the suppression of all posterior tariffs, and edicts repugnant thereunto, and the exemption

emption of fifty pence per ton; the whole to be so settled as not to be exclusive of Britain.

Our discourse concerning the barrier, was divided into three parts: as to those places which were demanded of France by the 22d article of the preliminaries, and which were yielded by the project sent by Monsieur de Torcy, in January, 1710*; and as to those of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, Aire, and Bouchain, which have been since that time conquered, my Lords made no difficulty to agree with Monsieur Buys, that they ought to be insisted upon. But there was some dispute on the last point relating to this article, my Lords thought the Queen might agree to concur with the states in obtaining for them the *jus præsidii* in those places, which did belong to the late king of Spain Charles the Second, at the time of his death, provided such of them were excepted, as would render the trade of Britain to the Spanish Low-Countries precarious, and even put it into the power of the States, whenever they thought fit, to shut that door upon

* Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Warneck, Poperingen, Lille, Condé, and Maubeuge.

us. Monsieur Buys asserting that there was no colour for this exception, affecting to fear that under this pretence we might, to use his own expression, *raiser tout le reste*, and insisting that some particular instance should be produced; Newport was named to him directly, and the Castle of Ghent and Dendermond, touched upon. The substance of what he said was this: that he hoped the Queen would not, from imaginary fears, expose the States to a real danger; that we were under a panic terror, that in settling the barrier, a security against France had been the sole view, and that they had never had the least thought in Holland of improving their own commerce, or of prejudicing ours thereby; that it were to be wished, that Ostend had been included in their barrier, but that since the tide of this nation run strongly against it, they had contented themselves with Newport; that France might attack them hereafter by sea, and therefore, that the last-named place was necessary for their defence; that they could not support their barrier, unless their communication with it was secured to them; and that, in this respect also, the places which my Lords
seemed

seemed to object to, were absolutely necessary; that they had already, in the Elector of Bavaria*, had one fatal instance, what mischief the treachery of a governor, in the Spanish Low-Countries may bring upon them; and, therefore, that he thought the safety of Holland, and of Britain too, required that all these places should be given up to the Dutch, without any exception.

The reply to this reasoning was, that we could not look upon these fears to be imaginary, because some things had passed already, which pointed towards that evil, which we apprehend; that if, even now, they cannot forbear making use of the barrier, which they are in possession of, to infest our commerce†, we have reason to expect much worse, whenever they shall be in the quiet possession of it; that this might prove an eternal ball of diffension between two nations, whose happiness depends upon their union, and was, therefore, by early, moderate,

* He had been governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and had received the appointment for life.

† Being in possession of all the fortified towns in the Low Countries, they laid such heavy duties on all foreign goods, and those not imported in their own bottoms, as, in the case of Great Britain, amounted to a prohibition of all trade whatever.

and

and prudent measures, to be provided against: that it was true, the tide of the nation had run against putting Ostend into the hand of the Dutch; that whenever the present case came to be known, the same tide would, for the same reason, run against the other places mentioned; and that our people would look upon themselves to have been lulled asleep, and imposed upon by the cession of Ostend, and the retention of what may be equally prejudicial to them; that the panic terror which he objected to us, might, much more justly, be retorted on him, since the arguments were built on such suppositions, as could hardly be made in earnest; that those arguments likewise proved too much, which was as great a fault as proving too little, for that by the same rule, Ostend and Antwerp ought to be given to them, to prevent an invasion of France, and all the rest of the Spanish Low-Countries, to prevent other Governors from doing what the Elector of Bavaria once did; that when we came to press the Emperor to make good the treaty of barrier to them, we should have a very ill grace in making use of a supposition, that the persons, to whose government under him, these countries

countries and towns are to be trusted, will prove a pack of traitors; that, in short, Monsieur Buys would be in the right, if the sovereignty of the Spanish Low Countries was to be yielded to an enemy, but that his arguments are of no force, when it is to be given to a friend. Upon the whole matter, we at last centered in this proposition: that the States ought to have whatever is really essential to the security of their barrier against France, but no more; and that some amicable expedient should be found for removing our fears, and settling the interest of Britain upon this last head.

Valenciennes, which is mentioned in the barrier treaty, but specified neither in the preliminary articles, nor in the project of 1710, was taken notice of, and agreed to be insisted on, like the rest.

When the conference had proceeded thus far, Monsieur Buys was told, that though the Queen, my Lords made no doubt, would insist upon all these points, in behalf of her allies the States, yet they believed her Majesty looked upon his masters to be too reasonable to break off the treaty, rather than not obtain the utmost of their demands;
that

that it was impossible the ultimatum, from whence there could be no receding, should be settled here, unless he was instructed to speak upon that subject; that, sooner or later, that point ought to be concerted, and that whenever it was, he might depend on the Queen's showing as much firmness, as the States themselves could desire; that we understood her Majesty's opinion to be, that the best way of securing the common interest in the future treaty, and of preventing that danger, which Monsieur Buys has so frequently represented, the division of the allies by the artifices of the French, in the course of a long negociation, was to concert between the Queen's ministers, and those of the States, with a due regard and decency to the other confederates, such a plan, as might amount to a safe and honourable peace. In which case, as soon as it appeared proper, the French plenipotentiary who is in the whole secret of his court, might be told, that it would be vain to amuse each other any longer; that on such terms, the peace would be immediately concluded; and that the conferences must cease, if they were not,
without

without delay, and without exception, granted.

After this we proceeded to speak of the interests of the Duke of Savoy, of the King of Portugal, of the Elector of Hanover, and of the barrier of the empire; in all which, there was no dispute concerning what the Queen and States ought jointly to insist upon.

And now, my Lord, I think we have gone farther with the Minister of the States, than could have been expected from us, since he was only empowered to hear and not to speak.

I must not conclude this relation without observing to you, that Monsieur Buys did, in recapitulating what had passed, more than once, although he was interrupted, and set right, repeat *sans quoi la Reine ne fera point la paix.*

We used this expression, *la Reine insistera dessus*; and whenever they please, we are ready to use the other.

Monsieur Buys has not said the least syllable about the plan of a treaty concerted here, and put into his hands. Two separate articles to that alliance might perhaps adjust all our difference about the barrier.

My

My letter is already grown to an immeasurable size, for which reason I will say nothing to your Excellency upon other heads of business, but conclude by subscribing myself,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 7th, 1711.

UPON what your Excellency writes in your letter of the 8th, I directed search to be made in the books remaining in my office, about the style given to the Elector of Treves, and to the Duke of Wirtemberg in her Majesty's letters to them, concerning which their Ministers at the Hague had made their complaint to you.

I find the style to the Elector of Treves, as likewise to the Elector of Mentz, as Ecclesiastical Electors, has been constantly, ever since the time of King Charles II, *Celsissimo et Eminentissimo Principi*, and the same style was followed to this present Elec-

* Public letter.

tor,

tor, having no precedent of any other ; his style when he was Bishop of Osnabrug, was *Reverendissimo & Celsissimo Principi*, without the word *Serenissimus*, and no complaint, as I hear of, was ever made. He has now the style of Elector and Bishop joined; and if his quality, as a younger Prince of the family of Lorrain, entitles him to any thing more than what is given to an ecclesiastical Elector, his minister will please to set forth his pretensions, with the titles he receives from Princes of the same rank with her Majesty, and they shall be considered.

What Monsieur Heespen alledged as to his master, the Duke of Wirtemberg, is true in that particular letter, which was his recredential in April, 1697 ; it is entered with the style of *Serenissimus* ; but it does not appear how that change came to be made then, or why it was not followed ; for all the letters to that Duke, both before and since that time, have had no other title but *Illustrissimus & Celsissimus*, and no representation has been made upon it, till the complaint lately mentioned by your Excellency.

I refer myself to the next post for what
I have

I have farther to say ; and am, with much respect, My Lord, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 8th, 1711.

THE fatigue of yesterday was so great, that I was not very fit, after the rising of the House, to dispatch my letters, and besides I was willing to see the Queen again to-day, before I writ to your Excellency upon a subject which is of such unspeakable importance.

My Lord Treasurer's narration * informs you

* *The Earl of Oxford, to the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

I HOPE your Excellency is so much persuaded of my sincere adherence to you, and that just value I have for your merit, that you will impute it to the continuance of my indisposition, that I have not punctually answered every one of your letters, which are so clear and instructive, that I can never sufficiently make my acknowledgments for them. I will now give your Excellency an account of what has passed here, and then make some few remarks upon the occurrences.

As soon as the Queen's speech was read in the House of Lords, by the Lord Keeper (1), the usual address was moved, for thanks to her Majesty for her gracious speech (a copy whereof, in print, will come by this post); this was moved thus simply and plainly, to show the Lords, that the

(1) Harcourt.

you of what passed in the two houses : of the additional words proposed in each ; of the

Queen's servants did not desire to be screened by any words in an address. Upon this the Earl of Nottingham, after a speech of an hour long, arraigning the conduct of the war, and the allies not supplying their quotas, concluded with a motion, that it should be an humble advice to the Queen, that no peace could be safe and honourable, if any part of Spain or the West Indies, should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. I must tell you, by the way, that Lord Nottingham had not one of his own party or family to join with him ; the reasons of his conversion are such as the public talked of, but I shall not meddle with. No one of the Court or of the Church party, would enter into the debate about Spain and the Indies, except some few scattering words, desiring that a day on purpose might be appointed for that debate, but the General (2) putting himself at the head of the Whigs, and his other creatures, who have promised to screen him from the discoveries the Commissioners of Accounts have made, would not consent to that ; depending upon the money which is given for votes (which is wonderful) and the absence of the Scots Peers, whom the floods have hindered they pressed the question, and upon the division, carried it, by one vote only ; when fourteen of the Queen's servants, who have been kept in by the indulgence showed them, voted that way, and others broke their words, not without sensible reasons : but this goes for nothing ; the General and the foreign Ministers have united to blow up this, which will return upon themselves. In the mean time, the House of Commons were upon the like subject ; the same words and the same tricks there proposed and made use of, but it ended in a division for leaving out the additional words of Spain and the Indies, by 126 ; the numbers stood thus, viz. yeas 106, noes 232 ; and the Scots not come up there, besides many of our friends stay in the country for Christmas, but the faction had not left one behind them ; this is their utmost effort.

" I cannot forbear telling you, that some of the faction did but happen to name Bothmar's memorial, when some of the most zealous for that succession, fell upon it with the utmost reproach, as what was not to be borne by a free nation ; and

(2) The Duke of Marlborough.

Vol. II.

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whoever

the adverse party's prevailing by two in the
Upper, and of their losing it by 126 in the
Lower

whoever advised that memorial, have given the succession a terrible wound, and we must do our best to calm the spirits of the people upon the head. After this tedious narrative, it is fit to come to my remarks. This proceeding will oblige the Queen, without reserve, to use the gentlemen of England, and those who are for her prerogative, it will draw marks of displeasure upon those who have barefaced set up a standard against her, and proffered to advise things which they know the States will never come into. I believe the Secretary has given your Excellency an account of all our conferences with Monsieur Buys. Two days since, I told him what would happen, and that it would be owing to the brigues of the General and the foreign Ministers. He was in the House of Lords all the time of the debate; after that was over, I called upon him, before I went to my own dinner: I asked him if all had not come to pass as I foretold? I added, that I had desired Lord Privy Seal not to take a house at Utrecht; that I should write the same to your Excellency; that since their intrigues had encouraged an impotent attack upon the Queen and the nation, they must reap the fruits of it, and make the peace by themselves, but that they should not (which I know was their aim) make one for Britain; that the attempt in the House of Lords had served only to show their good-will; but that both Lords and Commons would resolve on a new way to carry on the war more advantageous to the common cause, and more equal to us; that England would never submit to have those make a peace for them, who had so often duped them. I added, that we have shown our care of them, which they not liking, it was fit we should not put ourselves any more in their power; that for myself, I had endeavoured to keep every thing fair and easy during the war, but that this and their intrigues had made my moderation impracticable. I hear since, that Monsieur Buys is mortified to the last degree. I told him at parting, that I would see him as a good friend, but there was an end of any discourse of a peace; but we must think of managing the war how most to offend France and benefit Britain.

"I have thus nakedly told your Lordship what has passed, and leave it to you to judge; but as things appear here, I cannot forbear thinking that some dryness towards them with you may have a good effect, and letting them know that the
conduct

Lower House; of the cabals of the foreign Ministers against the Queen, particularly of Buys and Bothmar; and of the distribution of money, in which the last of these was actually concerned.

Your Excellency will please, leaving out the circumstance of money, to speak of this event as produced by a trick, and which therefore will turn upon the contrivers of it, and upon the actors in it.

You will please to show great dryness and reserve to the Pensionary, and to the Dutch Ministers, letting them know that the Queen thinks herself ill treated, and that they will soon hear what effects these measures will have on a mild and good temper, wrought up by repeated provocations to resentment; that they may have the war con-

conduct here is such that we cannot think them in earnest; for after their tariff of 1664, and their barrier, is agreed here with Monsieur Buys, how we come to be insulted is unaccountable; it is plain these are all tricks to get the treaty out of the Queen's hands. I have been thus plain only for your Excellency's information: I know you will only use it, without letting it be known whence your information is. I am, with the greatest truth and respect, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

“ OXFORD.

“ I beg you will assure Monsieur Gosslinga's mind; and for Baron Reed (3), I will answer his letter next post.”

(3) F. A. Baron van Rheeде, Deputy to the States-General.

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tinue if they please; but the Queen will not be forced to make it after their manner; neither will she suffer them to make her peace, or to settle the interests of her kingdoms.

Your accounts, your Excellency will please to say, are short, having been dispatched in haste; by the next post, you may insinuate, that you expect farther orders.

As to Prince Eugene, and his journey hither, the Queen commands me to repeat her orders to your Excellency, that you should say to every one, and even to him, that the other allies, and not her Majesty, want exhortations to increase their efforts; and that the Queen will concert nothing upon the scheme of the war here; let the project be agreed abroad, and her Majesty's resolutions upon them will be soon taken, and soon signified. In short, your Excellency is to discourage as much as possible, this Prince from coming over.

It is high time to put a stop to this foreign influence on British councils; and we must either emancipate ourselves now, or be for ever slaves.

My Lord, I write to you without reserve,
the

the occasion requires it, and my friendship exacts no less. The whole turns on the Queen's resolution*; if she has vigour and firmness enough to assert her own dignity, she will unite the bulk of the nation in her interest, and leave the faction nothing but impotent malice, wherewith to torment themselves, but not to hurt her, or those who serve her. It is inconceivable how much mankind is alarmed at Bothmar's memorial, and at his conduct; once more, if she is true to herself, the success of the Whigs in the House of Lords will be their ruin and her salvation.

I hope she will, I believe she will; and by the next post your Excellency will know what has passed, for the crisis is come, and the delay cannot be longer.

In the mean time, my Lord, be assured that you are joined to men who have acted

* Upon the change of ministry, the Duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse, approved of her Majesty's measures, till she declared her intention to call a new parliament; from that time he gradually withdrew to the opposition. His Duchess had succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough in her place of Groom of the Stole, and in a great share of the Queen's favour and intimacy. It was now found necessary to dismiss them both; the Queen, with some difficulty, was prevailed upon to turn out the Duke, but had not resolution to discard the Duchess.

honestly, and have therefore all the assurance and courage which become men conscious of merit; we are determined to stand and fall together, and your Excellency will in all cases be satisfied that you was not deceived when you engaged with us.

I would trust these letters to no conveyance but that of a messenger; be pleased to keep Barlow till you have received my Tuesday's letters, and then dispatch him back.

I am, for ever, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Dec. 12th, 1711.

I KEPT the messenger till to-day, that I might be able to write more fully to your Excellency upon a subject, and at a time when you cannot fail to be under some uneasiness.

It will be agreeable to know that her Majesty's resolution is at last taken*; the

* This does not appear to have been exactly the case: Swift says, the Ministry were not safe till the 29th, when Marlborough was turned out, and twelve new Peers were made.

particulars

particulars I am not able to inform you of, but an entire turn will be made in favour of those who have obeyed and served her, and in opposition to those who have used her own power against herself, and upon whom her moderation had no other effect than to render them more implacable.

I take it for granted that the changes will begin at the right end, that is to say, at the top. This spirit, exerted and continued, will retrieve the Queen's reputation, which one set of people has made it their business to depress; will give her measures their due weight abroad, and will make her servants safe in the execution of her commands at home.

The courier, which your Excellency's letters of the 18th prepared us for, is arrived; and Mr. Hoffman, the Imperial Resident, having yesterday called me out of the Committee of Council, told me, that he desired a yacht and convoy might be ordered to attend Prince Eugene, who is coming over, with letters from the Emperor to the Queen. I promised to lay before her Majesty what he communicated to me; but I told him, at the same time, that I had already orders

to say, that Prince Eugene was a man for whom the Queen had a very great regard, and that he would be always welcome at her Court; that, however, if he came to settle any scheme about the war, his intended journey would be fruitless, since her Majesty has determined to act herein no otherwise than in concert with the allies; that this concert must be made on the other side of the water, where the deficiency lay, and where the want of vigour was justly to be complained of; that our preparations for another campaign were going forward as usual; that if the war, particularly in Spain, went on, it must for the future be a common cause in reality, and not in words only; and therefore till the Queen saw what the Emperor and Dutch, &c. were ready to do, that she would not promise or engage for any thing. In short, I said so much to Hoffman, that he replied he understood me very well, and that the Prince would not be welcome to the Queen; I told him, that if the Prince had a mind to divert himself at London, we would do our utmost to entertain him; and that for my own part, I would endeavour to treat him *chère entière*,
but

but that I must repeat that we should not be allowed to concert or settle with him any project, for the reasons above-mentioned.

Your Excellency sees by this account, what language is used, and you will please to speak in the same style; for though we are not afraid of seeing this Prince, nor of any efforts which the new confederacy* can make, yet it is for the Queen's, and for the public service to take all possible measures towards bringing the present ferment to subside, instead of allowing fresh fuel to be thrown into the flame.

Your Excellency sees by my other letter, all that passed with Monsieur Buys last night; it was thought proper to show him, how little these artifices would avail, and how impossible it is for the foreign ministers, and a faction, whose only support is the public distress, to run counter to the sense of the nation, and the declared intention of the Queen.

All that you have said of this Pensionary is true. For God's sake, my Lord, speak to those on whom you judge it will have a

* Of the Duke of Marlborough's party, with the foreign Ministers of Vienna, Hanover, and the Hague.

good

good effect ; tell them plainly, that they are upon a wrong scent ; that their Minister here mistakes ; that we have promised and will perform all that they can ask of us relating to their barrier, and to their trade ; and that Mr. Buys is very unfair in his proceeding, if he has not told them as much : but that we proceed, in some respects, on a new scheme of politics ; that we will no longer struggle for impossibilities, nor be bantered by words ; that this country comes every day more and more to its senses ; and that the single dispute now is, whether they will join with a faction against the Queen, or with the nation for her ?

It is now several months ago, since letters of mine, to this effect, as well as of my Lord Treasurer, have been writ, in order to be shown to Pensionary Heinsius and to Monsieur Buys. The latter trots on in the old path, wants sagacity to discern, and resolution to take at once the true pli ; the other has more genius, and I hope better from him. Be pleased, my Lord, to add, that these representations are made, and these pains are taken by your Excellency there, and by your fellow-servants here, not
4 from

from any want that we have of a foreign interest to support us. They have in Holland been courted by a faction, and they have condescended to the jobs of that faction; we ask nothing of that kind from them, and it is for their sake that we press them into these measures.

Mr. Buys has, I find by him, received full powers to sign the treaty between the Queen and the States; but he mentions to me another point, which I wonder not a little at:—his masters are, he says, desirous that a private article should be added, *sub spe rati*, concerning those terms of peace, without which we may stipulate not to agree with the enemy. Now, my Lord, this character, as well as the manner in which he is empowered to treat, will not allow the Queen to enter into engagements of this sort. Besides, the congress approaches, and there is not time to settle an ultimatum; and we must expect some satisfaction to those objections upon that infamous treaty of barrier, before we go farther in tying ourselves down to Holland.

I have, my Lord, in this, and in my former letters, spoke to your Excellency as
clearly

clearly as I am capable of doing, and I shall be sorry if you are not of opinion that our conduct is very direct. I do not know that we have been four months in treaty with France; I know indeed that it is nine months since we were applied to from thence, but the intervals of inaction have been long.

We have offered very fair to the Dutch; but, my Lord, they must behave themselves to the Queen, as becomes them to do to a Princess who has nothing to ask of them, and from whom they have every thing to expect.

Your Excellency's intelligence about the memorials, may be right; two indeed I have seen from Louis d'Aenha*, but both were in a very submissive style; and I hope your Excellency will let the minister you mention know, that the nation is with the ministry; and that the farther this matter is pressed, and the conduct of the allies opened, the

* This probably relates to the Memorials of Don Lewis de Cunha, the Portuguese Ambassador. There had appeared in the Post-boy of 10th November, a paper reflecting on the conduct of the allies, and rather severely on that of Portugal: de Cunha applied to the Secretary of State; Roper, the printer, was taken into custody, and was obliged to publish a sort of recantation, 4th December.

more

more strength we shall have. But enough of this, wise men foresee, and take their measures, the weak are only taught by experience.

I am, my Lord, &c.

I begin to-morrow to prepare your instructions for the congress; I have solicited your allowances in the manner you desired, and they are granted; the warrants are gone out of my hands.

*To the Earl of Strafford *.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 12th, 1711.

THE inclosed letter from Monsieur de Torcy† arrived on Sunday last, and whilst the Cabinet was sitting on Monday, I received your Excellency's of the 18th of this month.

There can be no doubt of the Queen's ordering a yacht and convoy for Prince Eugene, which Monsieur Hoffman solicits. But I doubt it will be impossible to come to

* Public Letter. † 15th December 1711.

any

any agreement on this side of the water, about the next year's war.

The manner in which your Excellency reasoned with this Prince, and the arguments you made use of, are approved by her Majesty. You will please to go on to use the same language whenever the same occasion offers; and we must hope, that our friends on your side of the water will be glad to have us for allies, when by our steadiness to these measures they are once persuaded that we will be no longer dupes.

As to the Count de Gallas, and the conduct which it may be proper for your Excellency to observe towards him, I think, on one hand, that a person who is so much under the displeasure of the Queen, your mistress, has no title to your intimacy; and on the other, that if he is received at the Hague, as the Emperor's Minister, your Excellency cannot refuse, however coldly, to treat him as such.

Upon the subject of the renewal of the treaty with Prussia, I understand the Queen's pleasure to be, to pay the arrear which they demand, if she can by no tolerable shift avoid it. But the imposition is so gross, that

that I believe she will comply with reluctance ; and the longer your Excellency puts it off, and the better terms you can get at last, in consideration of it, the more agreeably you will serve her Majesty.

Del Borgo has acted like a minister of Savoy ; that is, very prudently in adhering to your Excellency, but in putting off the house which he has hired at Utrecht, he would have been very ridiculous ; and I cannot help thinking this affectation and grimace.

At a conference which was held last night, with Monsieur Buys, the answer received from France was communicated to him. Your Excellency will be surprized to hear, that although the declaration is made in terms full as strong as those in which it was demanded, yet this minister objected to it, upon account of those words in the preamble to the fourth article, *sans attendre les ministres du Roi d'Espagne, qui ne peuvent arriver que de très long-tems, n'étant pas encore partis de Madrid.*

He pretended that this was an artifice of France, and that some mighty mischief was latent under it. I confess to you, my Lord,
the

the reproach of chicanery was turned upon him, and he was told, that provided the enemy submitted to our demands, the Queen would concern herself very little what reasons induced them to do so. He was afterwards asked, whether he thought it yet time to deliver the passports; and this morning he filled them up, and put them into my hands.

The conference lasted some time longer, but nothing more worth your Excellency's notice occurred.

The inclosed extract of a letter which I have received from the Post-master General*, answers a point which your Excellency writ to me upon, some time ago.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

* *Extract of a Letter from the Post-masters General; dated the 5th December, 1711.*

"By last night's post, pursuant to your letter of the 30th ult. we sent directions to Mr. Vanderpoel, agent to the packet-boats, at the Briel, to observe such orders in relation to the dispatch of the packet-boats from that side, as he should from time to time receive from the Earl of Strafford, her Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague; not doubting but his Lordship will have that due regard to the regularity of the correspondence, as not to dispatch a boat without a mail from the other side, but on extraordinary occasions, that the intercourse may be carried on with as little interruption as possible."

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 15me December, 1711.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 25me du mois dernier, V.S. & j'ai rendu compte au Roi des résolutions prises de concert entre la Couronne d'Angleterre, & Messieurs les Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies pour faciliter l'ouverture des négociations de la paix; suivant ce que vous me marquez, Monsieur, sa Majesté m'a commandé de vous répondre,

Premièrement, Qu'elle accepte la Ville d'Utrecht pour le lieu de l'assemblée; la croyant plus propre qu'aucune autre, pour y tenir les conférences.

Secondement, Qu'il ne tiendra pas à elle, ni à ses Plénipotentiaires, qu'ils ne se rendent dans cette ville assez à tems pour y commencer les conférences, le 12me du mois prochain; qu'ils sont prêts à partir, et qu'ils ne sont retenus ici que par l'attente des passe-ports que vous devez envoyer, et qui sont nécessaires pour la sûreté de leur voyage.

VOL. II.

F

Troisièmement,

Troisièmement, Le Roi persiste dans la pensée qu'il convient que ses Ministres Plénipotentiaires, & ceux des puissances intéressés à la guerre présente, ne prennent point d'autre qualité pendant les conférences, & qu'ils réservent le caractère d'ambassadeur, pour s'en revêtir seulement le jour de la signature de la paix, afin, comme vous le dites, d'éviter, le plus qu'il sera possible, l'embarras des cérémonies, et les longueurs qui en pourroient naître.

Quatrièmement, Pour abrégér ces mêmes longueurs, le Roi consent que les conférences commencent sans attendre les Ministres du Roi d'Espagne, qui ne peuvent arriver que de très long-tems, n'étant pas encore partis de Madrid ; & sa Majesté promet que l'ouverture ni le progrès de la négociation ne souffriront aucun retardement de leur absence. Elle convient même que les Plénipotentiaires du Roi Catholique, son petit-fils, aussi-bien que ceux des Electeurs de Bavière & de Cologne, ne soient admis aux conférences, que lorsque les points qui regarderont ces Princes, auront été, comme vous le dites, ajustés.

Cette déclaration étant conforme à ce que

vous demandez, Monsieur, le Roi ne doute pas que les passeports pour ses Plénipotentiaires ne soient incessamment envoyés. Il n'y a point de changement à ceux que sa Majesté a nommés, et ce sont Messieurs le Maréchal d'Huxelles, l'Abbé de Polignac, & Mesnager, dont il faut, s'il vous plaît, que les noms soient inférés dans les passeports. Je ne doute pas, qu'ils ne contiennent toutes les suretés nécessaires pour leur fuite, domestiques, équipages, hardes, papiers, et généralement tout ce qui peut leur appartenir.

Comme je ne fais point, Monsieur, quels sont précisément les Ministres de vos alliés qui se trouvent présentement à Londres, et qui doivent assister aux conférences de la paix, je vous envoie les passeports pour ceux que j'ai cru qui pourroient en avoir besoin, et je vous prie de me renvoyer ceux de ces passeports qui seront inutiles.

Je suis, très véritablement, Monsieur,

Votre très humble, et

Très obeissant serviteur,

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

A Versailles, le 15^{me} Decembre, 1711.

JE réponds, Monsieur, par une autre lettre à celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, à la demande de Monsieur Buys. Quand vous ne m'auriez pas averti de la complaisance que vous avez été obligé d'avoir pour ses instances, j'en aurois jugé par les termes du 4^{me} article ; & vous m'avez accoutumé, Monsieur, à distinguer aisément votre style de celui des Ministres Hollandois.

Ils pouvoient sans crainte laisser partir les passeports ; les Plénipotentiaires d'Espagne feront long-tems en chemin, & la négociation sera bien avancée avant qu'ils arrivent à Paris, si les conférences commencent le 12^{me} du mois prochain.

Il ne tiendra aux Plénipotentiaires du Roi qu'elles ne s'ouvrent au terms fixe. Ils sont prêts à partir immédiatement après qu'ils auront reçu les passeports, & je puis vous assurer qu'ils n'oublieront rien pour achever promptement l'ouvrage dont ils sont chargés.

J'espère que le succès répondra aux sincères intentions du Roi, & à celles de la
Reine

Reine de la Grandé Bretagne, que l'Europe jouira long-tems par leurs soins d'une paix également équitable & solide.

Je suis très parfaitement,
Monfieur, votre, &c.

DE T'ORCY.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 15th Dec. 1711.

BY Barton, who arrived this morning, I had the honour to receive your Excellency's difpatches of the 22nd of this month. I fend the fame messenger back to you, not knowing what occafion you have of him, and being unwilling to truft any of my letters at this time to the common conveyance.

The Committee of Council not fitting till to-morrow night, nor the Cabinet till Monday, I can have at prefent materials but for a very fhort letter. On Tuesday, your Excellency may expect that I fhall fully inform you of the Queen's fenfe, in every particular.

* Public Letter.

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With

With this packet, you will receive the full powers, by which your Excellency is authorized to renew the several treaties for troops.

As to the battalions of Treves and Ottingez, I shall be able to speak with more certainty the next time I write; only as to the latter, I can now say, that we shall have no occasion for it another year, unless the Saxons, or some troops at present in the Queen's service, are withdrawn, and it become by consequence necessary to hire others, in order to replace them. The five battalions, which were drawn last Spring out of Flanders, were part of seven which we had in that country, over and above our quota, so that we are under no obligation of sending others in their stead. But if her Majesty should think fit to supply that number, those very regiments are now recruiting in Britain, and may be made use of for that service.

The passports for the French Plenipotentiaries, have been put by Monsieur Buys into my hands, and I have received her Majesty's orders to dispatch them, this evening, into France. They will probably come just in

in time, and that is all which can be expected; so that one great fear, which the Pensionary of Amsterdam had, is over, and we are no longer in danger of those fatal consequences, which would have followed (according to him) if the French Ministers could have arrived in Utrecht, sooner than those of the allies were ready.

The full powers for the Lord Privy Seal, and for your Excellency, who are the only two ministers whom the Queen has thought fit as yet to name, were this morning signed. Your joint instructions will be ready by Tuesday. The treaties and other papers necessary for your information, are almost all got together, and some time in the next week, make no doubt, but the Bishop will set forward.

If Prince Eugene intends still to come over, the convoy and yatch which passes upon this occasion, may serve him.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

I had almost forgot to tell your Excellency, that I send you copies of the French and Dutch passports, by comparing of which,

F 4

your

your Excellency will observe that the Dutch passport is only to come to Utrecht, whereas that of France is, *d'aller & venir*; and that some material words are likewise omitted in that of the States, by which the ministers have power to give copies of their passport, which shall be a security to any person belonging to them, in coming and going. I send you likewise a copy of my letter to Monsieur de Torcy, and hope that these defects, if desired, will be supplied.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 15^{me} Dec. V.S. 1711.

JE ne dois pas laisser partir le Courier, sans que je vous écrive deux lignes pour vous remercier, très humblement de l'honneur de votre lettre apart, & du compliment obligeant que vous me faites.

Le Sieur Gaultier ne manquera pas de vous rendre compte des nouvelles difficultés qu'on tâche de susciter chez nous, pour empêcher le progrès de la négociation.

Ces difficultés s'aplaniront par les soins, &
par

par la fermeté de la Reine ; & comme nous allons ouvrir les conférences dans la résolution de part & d'autre, de ne rien oublier pour achever promptement l'ouvrage, je veux espérer que nous serons à la fin assez heureux pour arriver à cette paix équitable & solide, qui a été depuis tant d'années le souhait de tous les honnêtes gens.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 15, 1711.

YOU are in the right, we are the worst politicians, and the best party-men under the sun. Those who oppose the Queen's measures, know, as well as we who pursue them, that the war is become impracticable ; that the end which they pretend to aim at, is chimerical ; and that they ruin their country by driving on this vain, gaudy scheme, which has so many years dazzled our eyes : but they venture this, and would sacrifice more, if more can be sacrificed, in order to regain
dominion,

dominion, which nothing can give, at least secure in their hands, but national distress. The true, real, genuine strength of Britain, belongs to other people; their power is built upon an adventitious strength, created by the public necessity, and nursed up by the advantage which dexterous men have taken, and which they will be able to take no longer when the war ceases.

Now my pen is in my hand, I cannot forbear saying, that I sincerely think this the most important conjuncture, that any Prince has been in, since the time that your Excellency's ancestor * was attacked by the faction which begun with him, and did not conclude their tragedy even with his master. That king sealed the warrant of his own execution, when he gave up his servant, and our mistress has no way of securing herself, but exerting her power to protect her ministers, who have rescued her from domestic bondage, and are going on to relieve her from foreign oppression. I will never deceive you,

* Thomas Wentworth, created Earl of Strafford 1639, attainted and beheaded 1641: about the end of that year, his son William was restored to his titles, but all his honours became extinct in 1695, except the Barony of Raby, which came by limitation to this Thomas Wentworth, as heir of Sir William Wentworth, brother to Thomas, first Earl of Strafford.

my

my Lord, I would not do it, even in the most pardonable, the most agreeable manner, by concealing real dangers, and giving false hopes; you may therefore, depend upon me when I tell you that I think all safe, and the Queen determined†.

The only difficulty she laboured under, besides a little natural slowness, was the habit which she has with the Duchess of Somerset, and the apprehension of not finding somebody to fill a place so near her person, whom she could like.

I need make no apology for entering so minutely into these matters since your Excellency is too much engaged in the Queen's cause, not to be desirous of knowing every particular how it fares.

The Queen was much pleased with your Excellency's bait for Prince Eugene, and if he comes over, nothing can be, in my opinion, more proper; but upon the whole matter, it is better he should stay where he is.

The faction would show him about, and make him their tool many ways; and though I have no apprehensions of any effort they

† It appears from Swift's Diary, that Oxford supposed the Queen to be then determined to support her ministers.

can

can make, provided the Queen be true to herself, yet they are capable of any thing; neither tumults, nor the consequences of them, would stop their measures, and it is our business to keep the ferment as long as we can at home, while we are carrying on so great a work.

Your Excellency will have seen by my dispatches, what style Monsieur Buys ought to have writ to his masters in, and nothing has passed with him, of which I have not given you constant and exact relations.

Buys has, I know, dropped, that upon condition we would yield to let the Dutch into half the advantages of trade which we are to have, he would undertake to procure a resolution of the States, counter to that of our House of Lords*; but this is a meanness which those who have the honour to serve the Queen, are incapable of submitting to. Let the peace be a good one for Holland, but let it be most advantageous for Britain, who suffered most by the war.

I hope your Excellency will be able to

* Upon motion, by the Earl of Nottingham, for an amendment to the address, voted, that no peace could be safe and honourable to Great Britain, if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon.

make our friends at Amsterdam, and in other places, concur more heartily and more openly with you ; let them think for themselves of the particulars, which will compose a secure barrier ; there is no plan which a Dutchman, who sincerely desires the peace, can form upon this head, into which the Queen will not very readily come. Assure them of this, and fear not being disavowed ; but tell them at the same time, that they must walk uprightly with the Queen.

In point of commerce, your Excellency sees what the Queen has promised to insist upon, and I can assure you, her word will be kept.

The passports go to-night to France ; what Buys means, by saying the delay was occasioned by an objection started in our Cabinet, I cannot imagine ; he proposed the step, the whole council thought it unnecessary, and at last agreed with him, purely out of complaisance. You will have found this matter stated in former letters of mine.

For God's sake, make no scruple about the number of messengers whom you send, leave
always

always as little to hazard as is possible; I shall dispatch another to you on Tuesday.

I have not time yet to read over the book which you are pleased to transmit; I fear, if it should be worth an answer, that we have no one capable of doing it, whom I should care to trust*.

My good Lord, adieu,
I am, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

December 15th, 1711.

I BEG of you to believe, that if you have been longer without letters from me than usual, it has been owing to no reason but the uncertainty whither to send safely, and the daily expectation of writing by a courier, who I thought would have carried you dispatches from the other office†.

The

* Probably, Bolingbroke thought the book unworthy of an answer; his plea of having no one able to answer it, will scarce be admitted, when the reader reflects that Swift, Prior, Friend, Oldsworth, and many more were writers for the ministry, and Bolingbroke and Oxford occasionally supplied materials.

† Harley, in his project of an administration (published by Lord Hardwicke) mentions the expediency of gaining over the

The suspense which the intrigues of our confederates, and the allies here, have kept us in, has been prodigious. I hope, by perseverance, we shall settle into some measure for peace or war, at last.

If you come over, I shall embrace you with the greatest pleasure, and open such a scene to you, as will make you think, if possible, of some people worse than you do already; if you do not come home yet, I will transmit to you in cypher, the clearest account I can of our secret history.

Your nephew, Mr. Mordaunt, I have had the honour to introduce to the Queen, to whom he presented a letter from the Duke of Savoy. He is worthy of your family, I never knew a prettier youth, my best services shall attend him.

I am, &c.

the Earl of Peterborough, and others. After they had acquired his support, the Ministry, aware of his enthusiastic turn of mind, which occasionally hurried him to act beyond his instructions, do not appear to have trusted him with the secret of affairs, and hence those frequent apologies.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Dec. 18th, 1711.

THOUGH the Committee of Council sat extremely late this evening, I cannot neglect writing a few lines, to give you an account of a passage which is pretty extraordinary.

Monfieur Buys being with my Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Dartmouth, and myself, this morning, in order to sign the treaty, whereof your Excellency will receive a copy, let himself in to say, that he thought we ought, in respect to the friendship between the two nations, to acquaint him with the advantages which have been stipulated for Great Britain; and he looked upon his country to be entitled by treaty, to share them with us. He added, that there was another reason, why we should at present be still more inclined to comply with him, for since the resolution of the House of Lords, he took it for granted, it would be a hazardous point for us to give up Spain; and therefore, that we would do well to induce the States to help us out of this difficulty. I
took

took up this harangue with some real, but more affected, warmth; and told him, that there was not any man in the Queen's council capable of so great a *lâcheté*; that any thing injurious to Holland, any thing which might justly tend to break the good correspondence between us, would, I am confident, be at all times readily departed from, but that we scorned to screen ourselves at the expence of our country; that the resolution he mentioned, and which was in a great measure owing to foreign ministers intermeddling in our affairs, might, and I believed would have an effect, which the projectors of it had not foreseen; that if the peace was rendered impracticable, the House of Commons would certainly put the war on another foot, and reduce the public expence to such a compass, as our treaties in the strictest sense require, and as we are able to bear; after which the partisans for war, must see, how to supply the deficiency.

I found this reply had its effect upon him, and I believe the same language may be of use, on some occasions, where your Excellency is.

I am, &c

VOL. II.

G.

T.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 18th, 1711.

I HAVE only time, by this night's post, to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed copy of the treaty signed this morning between her Majesty and the States-General; in which your Excellency will observe, that the mention of the former alliances between these two nations is omitted; and, indeed, since the Emperor and other Princes and States are to be invited to become parties thereof, it would have been absurd to have stipulated a revival and confirmation of treaties, with which they have no concern.

The *brouillon* of the instructions for the Congress has been read to night; and will on Thursday be finally settled. By Friday's post your Excellency shall not fail to receive them. - My Lord Privy Seal will set forward about that time, but whether he gets over soon enough or not, I judge that the Queen's

* Public letter.

intention

intention will be, that your Excellency should repair to Utrecht by the 12th of January, N.S.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

Mr. Tilson to the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 18th December, 1711.

MR. Secretary having finished his letter to your Excellency, has ordered me to acquaint you with a point which he forgot to mention himself.

Your Excellency will see, by the inclosed extract of the journals of the House of Commons, that Mr. Secretary was in the right when he asserted to you, and to others her Majesty's Ministers, the settlement of the quotas for the war upon making the grand alliance. That treaty mentions a peculiar specification intended to be made of the several proportions; but it is feared, that by some very great omission, such a particular convention was never made in form. However, Mr. Secretary himself very well re-

* Public letter.

G 2

members,

members, that the number of troops to be furnished by England and Holland were by the King's command communicated to a Committee of Lords and Commons by my Lord Marlborough. And your Excellency sees by the Journal, that Mr. Vernon, then Secretary of State, laid the same before the House of Commons†. The number there allotted to the Dutch is 102,000, by which only 60,000 were meant to be brought into the field; the other 42,000 being what they said they were obliged to have in garrison.

I am, with great respect, &c.

GEO. TILSON.

† “ *Extract from the Journal of the House of Commons.*

Veneris, 9 Jan. 13. Will. 3. ii.

“MR. SECRETARY VERNON acquainted the House that he was directed by his Majesty to lay before this House the quotas agreed to be furnished by his Majesty, the Emperor, and the States-General in pursuance of the treaties laid before the House; and he presented the same to the House, and the same was read, and is as follows, viz.

“ In relation to the quotas that are agreed to be furnished by his Majesty, the Emperor, and the States-General, for making good their alliances, it was agreed :

“ That the Emperor should furnish 90,000 men to act against France, consisting of 66,000 foot and 24,000 horse and dragoons, not reckoning the rest of his troops, that will remain in Hungary, or other parts of the Emperor's hereditary countries.

“ The States are to furnish 102,000 men, consisting of 82,000 foot, and 20,000 horse and dragoons.

“ The quota promised for England is 40,000 men, consisting of 33,000 foot and 7000 horse and dragoons, which are to act in conjunction with the troops of the allies.”

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 21st, 1711.

THE Queen got cold yesterday in the House of Lords, and has a little fit of the gout, which will hinder me from dispatching the messenger, as I intended to have done, by this packet. My Lord Privy Seal sets out on Monday.

Buys will, I believe, have his last audience on Sunday. The address of the House of Commons will show how far those are from obtaining their aim, who thought hindering the peace was a sure and effectual method to make us continue the war on the old foot. It is a misfortune that the enemy should see Britain determined to contract her expences; but they must be blamed who have brought the Parliament to this temper, and who have made it reasonable for the Ministers not to oppose the measure. Instead of cabaling with our factions, had the allies treated with the Queen, we should all have found our account better in it. I believe, however, that nothing will contribute more to determine the Dutch and the Impe-

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rialists to make peace than a conviction that they are going to lose their bubbles.

Your Excellency will believe that I was surprized when Bonet told me to-day, that the King of Prussia must demand 100,000 crowns more *per annum* for his troops in Italy, which will bring the whole expence of the corps to 500,000 crowns a year.

The two Houses will adjourn to-morrow for a fortnight, and I hope, that during the recess, the Queen will settle her government. She has had experience sufficient how essentially necessary it is to do so,

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Dartmouth.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 27, 1711.

THE substance of what passed on Monday last, when the Count de Maffei attended my Lords at the cock-pit, is as follows :

He represented, that his master had received from France the secret article made in his favour ; that it was plain France endeavoured to amuse his Royal Highness by an expectation of aggrandizement on the
side

side of Italy, and hoped by that means to evade the cession of that barrier, which is so essential to the safety of Savoy, of Piedmont, and of Italy itself. He proceeded to open the particulars of that ultimatum, which his Royal Highness, to facilitate as much as possible the peace, will be contented with; it is, in short, the same barrier which he has on all occasions demanded, except in these instances, he is willing to recede from Mont Dauphin and Briançon, provided the latter be demolished; he demands the surrender of the Fort de Barreau; but acquaints the Queen, at the same time, that he will be satisfied with the demolition of it; and that he hopes some consideration will be had of an equivalent for Mont Meillan, which has been so destroyed by the enemy, as to leave no possibility of being ever made a barrier to that country.

He was desired to draw up a memorial upon this head, and was promised that it should be transmitted to her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, to serve as their instruction. In the mean time, it was said that he might assure his master, that the Queen would

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peremptorily

peremptorily insist upon his barrier, according to his plan, and not depart from it.

He insisted again on the aggrandizement of his master in Italy; and urged all those arguments, which your Lordship has, in former conferences, heard so often repeated, and desired positive declarations, in writing, of her Majesty's intentions in both cases. As to the first, my Lords see no difficulty in your Lordship writing plainly and strongly to him, to the purpose above-mentioned. As to the second, all that my Lords could say, and all that they thought it might be advisable for your Lordship to write, was, that her Majesty continues still in the same disposition towards his Royal Highness, and in the same sentiments concerning his interest, as he has been already acquainted with, but that she foresees great difficulties in rendering any such scheme practicable, and that she thinks the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont to the Archduchess must be the foundation of all future demands; that her Majesty is ready to do her utmost in pressing this forward, as well as in obtaining the money due from the Imperial Court to his Royal Highness; that it is impossible
she

she should be able, before the opening of the Congress, to reduce her own interest to a certainty, but that she will have the same concern, and insist with the same firmness, for his as for her own.

Your Lordship will please to write to the Count de Maffei, who expects to hear from you.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 28th December, 1711.

I DISPATCH this courier in a boat taken on purpose, and with orders to be set on shore the first land they can reach, that he may lose no time in delivering his dispatches to your Lordship; since the Queen desires the orders contained in the letter may be executed as soon as possible.

On Thursday, Monsieur Hoffman, the Imperial Resident, came to my office, and delivered me the following message, which I took in writing as he spoke it: That hav-

* Public letter.

ing acquainted Prince Eugene with the answer given by her Majesty to his desire of a yacht and convoy to bring him into Britain, the Prince had sent an express to him, and had directed him to renew his application. That the Prince writes that he cannot neglect to come over, although her Majesty be determined not to treat here, either on the operations of war, or the measures of peace; since his chief commission is to renew and to confirm the friendship and good correspondence between her Majesty and the Emperor.

That the Queen and her Ministers shall have all imaginable reason to be satisfied with his conduct; that he can stay here but few days; and finally, that he hopes that the first yacht and convoy may be ordered to attend him, whether they be those which were appointed for the Prussian Minister, Monsieur Mareschalch, or those which are going with my Lord Privy Seal.

Upon the report which I made last night in Cabinet-council of this matter, her Majesty was pleased to signify her pleasure, that your Excellency do immediately let Prince Eugene know, that she has received such an
account

account of the instances which he has directed Monsieur Hoffman to make: your Excellency will repeat upon this occasion the substance of what is above written; and you will add, that the Queen has expressly commanded you to acquaint him, that she still insists on having the operations of the next campaign settled at the Hague, as what relates to peace is referred to the Congress at Utrecht. That when the quotas of his Imperial Majesty, of the States-General, and of the other allies, shall have been concerted and ascertained, her Majesty's resolution will be soon declared; and there can be no doubt made, even before-hand, of her being ready to perform her part. That her Majesty thinks this the most important service which the Prince can employ himself in, at this season, for the common cause. That if the Prince is to make any excuse for the conduct of the Count de Gallas, this step is unnecessary, since her Majesty's resentment went no farther than to the person of that gentleman; and since any other minister the Emperor shall please to nominate, will be very agreeable to her, according to what she has already declared. That her Ma-

jefty's friendship to the Emperor is very entire, and wants neither to be renewed nor confirmed.

And lastly, your Excellency is to tell the Prince, that his name has been made use of on so many occasions of late, to create a ferment, and to excite sedition, that her Majesty judges it to be neither safe for him, nor convenient for her, that he should at this time come over; but that as soon as her Majesty shall have so disposed of her affairs, as to remove this objection; there is no one whom she will be more glad to see, or receive better, than himself.

When your Excellency shall have in this manner (which you are to do with great regard to the Emperor, and great civility to the Prince, but at the same time with great firmness) declared her Majesty's resolution, it is not to be supposed that this point will be any farther pressed; and the Queen's orders are already given to my Lords of the Admiralty, that the captains of the men of war, and of the yachts do presume to receive no person on board, except such as shall be appointed to come over, either by orders.

orders from hence, or from your Excellency.

The same direction is given to the Postmaster General for the packet-boats.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

Since I wrote this, I have been advised rather to send the messenger by the way of Harwich than Ostend, as the best way, now the wind is come a little westerly.

To the Lord Privy Seal.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 28th December, 1711.

WE share in the uneasiness which your Lordship labours under, both on the public account, and your own, by being detained on the river.

Her Majesty is so earnest, and thinks it of so much consequence to her service to have your Lordship arrive as soon as possible on the other side, that she has commanded me to send this express to you; and to let you know, that if by reason of the winds or the

* Public letter.

ice,

ice, you should not be able to get into any port of Holland, it is her pleasure that you endeavour to land at Ostend.

The full powers * of enabling your Lordship and the Earl of Straford to make such treaties

(L.S.) * " Instructions for the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, John Lord

" ANNE R. Bishop of Bristol, our Keeper of our Privy Seal, whom we have appointed to be one of our Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a General Peace. Given at our Court of St. James's, the twenty-third day of December, 1711, in the tenth year of our Reign.

" Having received our instructions, and your other necessary dispatches, you are, without loss of time, to repair to the Hague. Upon your arrival at this place, you are, in conjunction with the Earl of Strafford, our Ambassador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary there, to represent to the Pensionary, and to the other Ministers of our good friends and allies the States-General, how desirous we are to bring the Negotiations of Peace, which are to be now opened, to an happy issue.

" According to those repeated assurances, which we have already given, you are again, upon this occasion, to declare in our name, that as we have in the prosecution of this war, for the common interest of Europe, exerted ourselves beyond what is required by our treaties, or what could have been expected from us, so we will not upon any account whatsoever, be provoked, or induced to lose the effect of all the sacrifices which we have made, or to conclude any peace, wherein the Allies in general, and each Confederate in particular, may not find their ample security, and their reasonable satisfaction.

" You will say, that we assure ourselves they can make no doubt of that especial regard which we have for their nation, since by the accounts which the Sieur Buys, their Envoy-extraordinary to us, will have given them, they must have observed that we look upon their interests as inseparable from
our

treaties between her Majesty and the States-General, or any other of the allies, as shall appear to be necessary, in order to remove all ground of complaint, and to confirm that good understanding among the confederates, which must be the great security of the general

our own ; that our intentions were explained without reserve to him ; and that we are ready to insist, in the manner which they themselves shall desire, upon their barrier, and upon those advantages which they expect in trade ; as well as to concert with them that scheme of a treaty which it may be proper to engage to each other, that we will never recede from.

“ You are further to represent, of how great importance it is, that we should enter into this Congress under the ties of the strictest confidence ; and the ministers of Britain and Holland should entirely concur, and proceed as one man, in every instance throughout the course of these negotiations.

“ To this purpose it is our pleasure that you do concert with such of the ministers of the States as shall be appointed to confer with you, the manner of opening the conferences, and the most proper method for carrying on the same. That you do declare yourself to be instructed when you arrive at Utrecht, on all occurrences freely to communicate your thoughts, and the measures which you take, to the Plenipotentiaries of the States-General, and that we hope the same instructions will be given on their part.

“ Before you leave the Hague, you are to acquaint the Pensionary, and the other Ministers, that our preparations for the next campaign are carried on with all the dispatch and vigour which the present circumstances of affairs will allow. And you are, in the warmest manner, to insist that the same may be done by them ; and that we may both join in pressing his Imperial Majesty, and the other Allies, to concur more heartily in the common cause, and to make greater efforts against the enemy, than they have hitherto done ; without which, it is easy to foresee, that the war must languish in several parts of it, and the terms of a safe and honourable peace become more difficult to be obtained.

“ A. R.”

“ Instructions

general peace, which you are going over to treat, I transmit to your Lordship by this opportunity ;

(L. S.) “ Instructions for the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, John Lord Bishop of Bristol, our Keeper of our Privy Seal, and for our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Thomas Earl of Strafford, our Ambassador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, whom we have appointed to be our Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a General Peace. Given at our Court of St. James's, the twenty-third day December, 1711, in the tenth year of our Reign.

“ ANNE R.

“ Upon your arrival at Utrecht, you are to begin by converting with the ministers of our Allies in what manner it may be most proper to open the conferences, and what method to observe in the progress of the Treaty. You will upon this, and upon all other occasions, earnestly represent to these ministers, the great importance of appearing united ; and, for that reason, recommend to them, that if any difference or dispute should arise, the same should be accommodated amongst yourselves, that France may have no hold to break in upon you : but, on the contrary, that whenever you meet the enemy's ministers in the Congress, every opinion that is delivered, and every instance that is made, may be backed by the concurrent force of the whole Confederacy.

“ In order to bring this great work to a speedy issue, and to prevent as much as possible any advantage which the enemy might take, by a long negotiation, of dividing the Allies, or of slackening their preparations for another campaign, you are to propose, that a time be fixed for the conclusion, as was done for the commencement, of these Conferences.

“ If it shall be thought proper to begin by the disposition of the Spanish monarchy, you are to insist that the security and the reasonable satisfaction which the Allies expect, and which his Most Christian Majesty has promised, cannot be obtained, if Spain and the West-Indies be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. And in case the enemy should

opportunity; several papers necessary for your Lordship's information are likewise sent;

should object, as the Imperial ministers have done, that the second article of the seven, signed by the Sieur Mesnager, implies, that the Duke of Anjou shall continue on the Throne of Spain, you are to insist that those articles, as far as they extend, are indeed binding to France, but that they lay neither us nor our Allies under any positive obligation. That they were received only as inducements for opening of conferences: and that an agreement to take measures for preventing the Crowns of France and Spain from being ever united upon one head, cannot be construed by any means to imply, that the latter should remain to the present possessor; since, by the sixth article of the Preliminaries made in 1709, this very point was insisted upon, although in the same Preliminaries it was agreed that the Duke of Anjou should abandon the Throne of Spain. In treating therefore upon this head, you are to consider, and settle, in conjunction with our Allies, the most effectual measures for preventing the Crowns of France and Spain from being ever united on one head; and the conditions which shall be agreed as necessary to this effect, you are peremptorily to insist upon.

"Whether the great article of the Spanish Monarchy shall be in the first place adjusted, or whether it shall be thought expedient to defer the consideration thereof, you are, in the behalf of our Allies, to demand of France the following terms, with such extensions and alterations as the several parties concerned may be desirous of, and as shall appear just and reasonable. And for your better information and guidance, as well in respect to these articles as to others, the several Memorials and Representations which we have received from divers Princes and States, concerning their interests in the Treaty of Peace, are herewith delivered to you.

"In the first place, in respect to the Interests of our good brother the Emperor, and of the Empire, you are to insist that the Town and Citadel of Straßburg be restored to them, in the same condition they are at present, together with the Fort of Kehl, and the dependencies thereof, situated on both sides of the Rhine, without the repayment of any demand of charges under any pretext whatsoever, with one hundred pieces of brass cannon of different sizes, and am-

sent ; and I will take care that those which remain behind may come to your hands before you arrive at Utrecht.

The

munitiion in proportion. That the said Town of Strasburg be likewise restored to the rank, prerogatives, and privileges of an Imperial City, and do enjoy the same in such manner as they were enjoyed before it was brought under the dominion of his Most Christian Majesty, both in ecclesiastical and civil rights. And you are to demand, that the said town and forts be effectually evacuated in such time, and in such manner, as shall be agreed upon by you in concert with our allies.

“ You are further to insist, that the town of Brisac, with its territory, be restored to his Imperial Majesty and the House of Austria, with all the cannon, artillery, and ammunition that are therein, to be held and enjoyed by his said Imperial Majesty in such manner as he ought to have held and enjoyed the same pursuant to the Treaty of Ryfwick.

“ You are to endeavour to procure that his Most Christian Majesty may hereafter have the possession of Alsatia, in such wise only as appears to be according to the literal sense of the Treaty of Westphalia ; and by virtue thereof that he be contented with the Right of Prefecture over the ten Imperial cities lying in the said country of Alsatia ; without extending the said right to the prejudice of the prerogatives, rights, and privileges, which belong to them as to other free cities of the Empire. But that his said Most Christian Majesty may enjoy the aforesaid right, together with the prerogatives, revenues, and domains, in like manner as he ought to have enjoyed them at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty above-mentioned.

“ You are to demand, that the fortifications of the said Ten Towns be put into the same condition they were in at the time aforesaid ; except the town of Landau, the possession and propriety whereof you are to procure to the Emperor and the Empire, with liberty to demolish the fortifications of that place, if they should think fit.

“ You are likewise to insist, that his Most Christian Majesty, in pursuance of the said Treaty of Westphalia, do cause to be demolished, in such time as shall be agreed on, and at his own expence, the fortresses which he has at present on the Rhine,

The orders which I send this day by a
courier to the Earl of Strafford concerning
Prince

Rhine, from Basle to Philipsburg; namely, Huningen, New Brifac, and Fort Lewis, with the works belonging to the said fort on both sides of the Rhine, without ever rebuilding the same.

“ You are further to demand, that the Town and Fortrefs of Rhinfelt, with its dependencies, be put into the hands of our good cousin, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, until that matter be otherwise settled.

“ The clause inserted in the fourth article of the Treaty of Ryſwick, relating to Religion, being contrary to the tenour of the Treaty of Westphalia, you are accordingly to insist that the same be revoked and annulled, and that the state of Religion in Germany be restored to the tenour of the Treaty of Westphalia aforesaid.

“ You are likewise to insist, that his Most Christian Majesty do acknowledge our good brother, the King of Prussia, in that quality; and that he do promise not to give his said Prussian Majesty any disturbance in the possession of the Principality of Neufchâtel, and of the County of Valengin, and that he do restore the Principality of Orange to those to whom it shall appear by law to appertain, and such other Estates as did belong to our late dear brother, King William the Third, which are now in the hands of France.

“ You are also to demand, the acknowledging of the Electorate which has been erected in favour of the Duke of Hanover, now Elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg.

“ And if any difficulty shall arise concerning the time of acknowledging his Prussian Majesty and the Elector of Hanover, the ministers of France insisting not to do it until the Peace be signed, and the ministers of these princes insisting to be received as the ministers of a crowned head, and of an Elector, at the first opening of the Congress, you are in such case to endeavour, by some expedient, to reconcile the dispute. You may, in the first place, propose that the several ministers should confer and treat together without exchanging or producing their full powers, until they come to conclude and sign. You may, in the next place, offer that the full powers of the Prussian and Hanoverian ministers be accepted, with a declaration that this shall be of no consequence unless the general peace ensue. Thirdly, you may endea-

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your

Prince Eugene, may perhaps make some noise on the other side ; for which reason I inclose

your to terminate the difference by pressing to have the full powers of all the ministers put into the hands of such plenipotentiaries as shall be agreed upon by the parties present.

“ As to our good Brother, the King of Portugal, you are to insist, that he have and enjoy all the benefits and advantages granted to him by the Treaties made between us, our allies, and his said Majesty.

“ As to what relates to the particular interests of our good friends and allies, the States-General, you are to insist, that the Most Christian King do yield, towards forming a sufficient barrier to them, Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisse, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, as likewise Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with their several dependencies, and the cannon, artillery, and ammunition now being in such of the abovesaid towns, as are still in the hands of the French, to be garrisoned in such manner as is, or shall be agreed on between us and the said States-General, or others concerned.

“ You are further to insist on that head, that his Most Christian Majesty do restore all the towns, forts, and places belonging to Spain, which he at present possesses, or has been in possession of during the course of this war, in the Spanish Low Countries, together with the cannon, artillery, and ammunition, now being and remaining therein ; to the end that such part of them as have been, or shall be thought fit, may also be allotted for a barrier to the States-General.

“ You are to use your utmost endeavours that the tariff of 1664 be granted by France to the said States-General, with the suppression of all other tariffs made since that time, revoking and annulling all edicts, declarations, and decrees, contrary therunto ; that the advantages of the Treaty of Ryswick be likewise given to the States, and that the exemption of fifty pence per ton be allowed to all Dutch vessels trading to the ports of France.

“ You are, however, to take especial care not to suffer these articles in favour of the States-General to be concluded until the Treaty of Succession and Barrier be so explained, as to remove those apprehensions which we have as to the consequence of it in some points, concerning which you are already

inclose a copy to you of that letter. I trouble you with no copy of the other, which I write

ready instructed, and shall hereafter be more fully informed of our pleasure.

“ As to our good brother, the Duke of Savoy, you are to demand, that he be put again into possession of the Duchy of Savoy, County of Nice, and of all his hereditary countries, which have been taken from him by France during the present war; that he do enjoy the countries and places yielded to him by the treaties made with the Emperor, and others of the allies; and that his Most Christian Majesty do likewise yield to the said Duke of Savoy the towns of Exiles, Fenestrelles, and Chaumont, together with the Valley of Pragelas, and all the tract of land lying between Piedmont and Mount Genevre, so that the said mountain may hereafter serve as a barrier between the Kingdom of France and the Principality of Piedmont.

“ When the barrier of our good friends and allies shall be under consideration, or at any other time, which in the course of this negotiation shall to you appear most proper, you are to press the explaining, extending, and settling the sixth article, signed by the Sieur Mesnager, which relates to the demolition of Dunkirk.

“ As to our own interest, you are to be particularly attentive to them in the whole course of this negotiation, to make use of every accident which may happen, and of every occasion which the several allies may have of our assistance, in order to promote and secure the same with each of them.

“ Whereas by the Treaty of Barrier, the commerce of these our kingdoms to the Spanish Netherlands, and to such places as shall by virtue of the said Treaty accrue to the States-General, is exposed to be lost, or, at least, to become precarious: And whereas the Sieur Buys, their Envoy-extraordinary to us, has himself acknowledged the reasonableness of our apprehensions, and the justice there is that we should be secured against any prejudice which we have reason to fear may arise to us from those great accessions, which they have, at the expence of the blood and treasure of our subjects, acquired? You are, therefore, at the same time as you use your endeavours, both with the enemy and such of the allies as may be concerned therein, to procure to the States-General the effect of the aforesaid Treaty, to insist that Newport, Den-

I write to my Lord Strafford, since besides
some account of what passed on Saturday
with

dermonde, the Castle of Ghent, and such other places as may appear to be rather a barrier against us than against France, be either not put into the hands of the Dutch, or that such expedients be found for the doing thereof, as may secure the ingress and egress of our subjects in all the Low Countries, as fully and effectually as if the said barrier had not been granted to the States-General.

“The seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, giving a power to the States-General, in case of an apparent attack, or of war, to put as many troops as they shall judge necessary into all the towns, places, and forts of the Low Countries; you are to endeavour to have this article so explained, as to be understood for the future only of an attack from, or of a war with France; since nothing can be more unreasonable than to leave it in the power of the States-General to make use of the ten provinces against those to whom the sovereignty of these provinces may belong, or against the British nation.

“It must be your farther care, that a special provision be made that our subjects may not suffer in their commerce by any omission in the fifteenth article of the said barrier-treaty; and that it be expressly stipulated, that the subjects of these our kingdoms shall trade as free, with the same advantages and privileges, and under the same impositions and no other, as they used to do when those places were in the hands of France or Spain, or as the subjects of the States-General themselves have done, or shall at any time hereafter do.

“Pursuant to what is before mentioned, you are to make these instances, and such others as shall be hereafter directed upon those heads, wherein the interest of our kingdoms, and of the dominions of the States General may interfere, at such time, and in such manner, that our satisfaction may go hand in hand with the settlement of their barrier.

“You are to insist, that the Most Christian King do not only in the plainest and strongest terms acknowledge the succession to the crown of these our kingdoms, as the same is limited by law to the House of Hanover; but also, that the person pretending a right thereunto shall be immediately obliged to retire out of the dominions of France; and that his Most Christian Majesty shall farther promise and engage for himself, his heirs, and successors, never to acknowledge any person

with Mr. Buys, and of other matters relating to the business in transaction at the Hague,

person to be King or Queen of these realms besides ourself, and such as shall succeed to us by virtue of the acts of settlement now in force.

“ You are to demand, that a treaty of commerce may be as soon as possible commenced between us and France; and that in the mean time such points may be settled as shall appear necessary to prevent the doubts and difficulties which may otherwise arise in the further negotiation of this matter.

“ The joint-possession of the island of St. Christopher having been the occasion of frequent disputes between our subjects and those of the Most Christian King, as well as of the effusion of much blood, you are to demand and insist, that the right to, and possession of the said island do for the future remain to us; and that the Most Christian King do renounce all right, title, claim, or interest which he or any of his subjects may have, or pretend to have, to or in the said island, or any part thereof.

“ As to our interests in the north part of America, you are to be particularly careful; and to demand, in the first place, the restitution of the Bay and Straits of Hudson, together with such further security for the trade, and recompence for the losses of this Company, as you shall be able to obtain.

“ You are, in the next place, to insist, that Placentia, and the whole island of Newfoundland, be yielded to us by the French.

“ Thirdly, you are to demand, that his Most Christian Majesty shall quit all claim or title by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwise, to the country called Nova Scotia, and expressly to Port Royal, otherwise Annapolis Royal, which is now in our possession.

“ You are, in the fourth place, to endeavour, in the best manner you possibly can, to describe and fix the bounds of the British and French settlements in those parts.

“ Besides these advantages and privileges, which, by virtue of any former treaty or agreement, our subjects are entitled to in any part of the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, you are to insist in the future treaty upon the following articles:

“ First, That Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the island of Minorca, be for the future annexed to the crown of these realms.

“ Secondly, That the contract called the Asiento, for furnishing

Hague, all which your Lordship is already apprized of, there is nothing very material in it.

As

nothing slaves to the Spanish West-Indies, be made for the term of thirty years, with such of our subjects as shall be by us nominated and appointed, who shall enjoy all the prerogatives, privileges, and advantages, which were yielded to the French by a contract made with them in the year 1762, or which shall appear necessary and reasonable. Particularly you are to insist, that some extent of ground on the River of Plate may be assigned, upon which our subjects may not only refresh their negroes, but keep them in security until they shall be disposed of to the Spaniards.

“ Thirdly, You are to take care that a general article be inserted; by virtue whereof, all advantages, rights, and privileges, which have been granted, or which may be hereafter granted by Spain to the subjects of any nation whatsoever, shall be in like manner granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

“ Fourthly, In settling the trade of our subjects to the Spanish dominions, you are to endeavour to obtain such exemptions of duties upon all goods and merchandizes of the product or manufacture of these kingdoms, as shall amount to an advantage of at least fifteen per cent.

“ You have herewith delivered to you such proposals and observations relating to our interests in commerce, as have been prepared and made by our commissioners for trade and plantations, together with the petitions and representations of our Turkey and East India Companies, and of other our subjects; of all which, and of such others as shall be hereafter transmitted to you, you are to make the best use you shall be able for the relief of our subjects, and for the improvement of commerce.

“ And whereas we have directed a state to be prepared of such demands, as we may justly make, not only on account of the expences, which we have been at for our good friends and allies the States-General, but also on account of those immense sums, which we have furnished for the use of our good brother the Emperor, you are hereby required, as soon as this state shall be transmitted to you, to insist upon satisfaction for as much as shall thereby appear to be due to us.

“ And whereas we think ourselves obliged on all occasions

to

As soon as your Lordship and the Earl of Strafford are together, my dispatches will be addressed jointly to you both.

I have nothing more to add, but my sincere wishes that your Lordship's voyage may be prosperous, and that the success of the negotiation you are concerned in may be answerable to those honest intentions, and to that good conduct, with which on your part it will, I am sure, be carried on.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

to exert our zeal in behalf of the Protestant religion and interest, we cannot conclude these instructions without directing you to concert with the ministers of the States-General, and of our other Protestant allies, the most proper and effectual methods for restoring to their religious and civil rights the Protestants of France; and particularly for the immediate welfare of such as may be at this time in the galleys. Our will and pleasure in the last place is, that you do, from time to time, observe and follow such further instructions and directions as you shall receive from us or one of our Principal Secretaries of State, with whom you are constantly to correspond; and give us by him an account of all your proceedings in these important affairs, and of all other material occurrences which may come to your knowledge during the course of this your employment for our service abroad.

"A. R."

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 28, 1711.

THE wind coming about to the eastward of the north, I omitted writing to your Excellency by the post of Tuesday, since in all probability the letters of this date would come as soon to your hands; and since we might receive in the mean while, as in effect we have done, the mails expected from your side.

Monsieur Buys had his last conference with the Lords of the Council on Saturday, and on Sunday his audience of leave of the Queen.

In the conference, he was asked if he had any thing more to propose; or if he could think of any article which remained necessary to be concerted between her Majesty and his masters? he immediately answered, that the capital point had hardly yet been talked of at all, and that he hoped the destination of Spain and the Indies might be the subject of consultation at that time. He was told that my Lords could say no-

* Public letter.

thing

thing to him on that subject more than this, that the Queen intended to insist, that neither Spain nor the West Indies should be allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon; and that the instructions to your Excellency and to my Lord Privy Seal are drawn accordingly.

Finding he could obtain no other answer upon this head, Monsieur Buys mentioned the case of the French refugees; and proposed that the Queen should join with the States in demanding, that such of them as are naturalized in any country of the allies, may have the liberty, after their naturalization, of going freely into and out of France, and of inheriting those estates, which, by the course of succession, by will, or any other way, they may hereafter become entitled to. My Lords acquainted the Pensionary, that her Majesty's zeal for the Protestant interest, and her compassion for those unhappy people, prompted her to contribute, as far as possibly she could, towards their relief. That her Plenipotentiaries were instructed to this purpose; but that it was fit he should know at the same time one difficulty which our ministers would labour under in pressing this point,

point; and that was the case of her Majesty's Popish subjects in Ireland, which the enemy, and perhaps some of our friends too, might retort upon us.

From hence, in order to close the conferences in the method at first designed, my Lords descended with Monsieur Buys into the consideration of the state of the war. It is needless to trouble your Excellency with a long detail of the objections and complaints made on our side, and of the answers and excuses made on his. Your Excellency has had so many occasions to debate this matter, that you are sufficiently apprized of the particulars. The conclusion of the whole was, that Monsieur Buys affirmed, the States had already gone, in proportion to their strength, farther than even Britain has; and therefore that it is highly unreasonable to complain of them, or to expect that their efforts, either by sea or land, should be greater than usual. That the House of Austria, and the Princes of the empire, had been shamefully deficient, he very readily agreed; but could propose no remedy for this distemper more effectual than circular letters and pathetical exhortations, which,
by

by the fatal experience of many years, we have found too weak to work on German constitutions.

I hope he is gone over satisfied with the usage which he received here ; and since he is likely to have a considerable share in the business to be treated at Utrecht, it is for the Queen's service that he should be so.

He came over instructed and empowered by halves. The ferment, which had been created by the joint efforts of the faction here, and of that in Holland, confounded him ; and thinking to take this advantage of negotiating well for Holland, at the expence of Britain, he has negociated ill for both, and ill for the common cause. We parted in terms of the greatest civility ; and her Majesty's present to him was a thousand pounds, which is double the value of what is ever given here to an Envoy-extraordinary.

I come now to answer your Excellency's letters of the 25th and 29th of December, and of the 1st of January ; the conduct of the Landgrave of Hesse, is very laudable, and I believe, your Excellency will think proper to take occasion of expressing how

*

sensibly

fenfibly he has obliged the Queen, and of forwarding with the States the payment of his arrears*.

I hope that the confidence amongst the allies is not fo broken, as your Excellency fays they feem to agree at the Hague; but, my Lord, what a condition had that conduct brought us to, by which it was become impracticable to continue the war, in the fame method, without ruining Britain; or to change that method, or to propofe a treaty of peace, without difobliging that alliance.

There is a ftate of the war, both with refpect to obligations and performances, preparing upon an addrefs of the Houfe of Commons, which will fet the matter your Excellency defires to be informed of in the full eft light, and which you fhall be fure to receive as foon as it is ready.

My Lord Dartmouth, in whose province Mr. Manning now is, has already writ by her Majesty's order, that he fhould accept the reparation which the Republic of the Grifons propofe to make him †; but after that,

* For troops in the pay of Great Britain and the States-General.

† Manning was Envoy to the Grifons, and espoused, pursuant to his instructions, the cause of Monsieur Mafner, a native

that, he is to return home, and I do not know, if the Queen has yet determined to send any one in his room.

All I can say, as to what passed between your Excellency and Monsieur Clingraff*, is, that I remember Monsieur Bothmar asked me, soon after his arrival here, whether he might renew with the Duke of Marlborough the usual treaty, in the same terms as formerly, *mutatis mutandis*? My answer was, that I knew nothing of the Queen's having revoked the full powers, formerly given to his Grace, and therefore, that I supposed, till her Majesty should think fit to order it otherwise, the same method was to be observed; from that time to this, I have neither thought nor heard of the matter.

The Queen approves of what your Excellency proposes concerning the battalion of Treves.

You will please to let the Ministers of

native of Coire, who had been unjustly used at the instigation of French influence; he was at last so contemptuously treated, and so little regard was paid to his station (that of representative of the Queen) that his remonstrances were neglected, and in the end, an attack was made, while on a journey, upon his life, from which he escaped only by throwing himself down a precipice.

* The Hanoverian Secretary at the Hague.

Muscovy

Muscovy know, that we expect other dispatches from Mr. Whitworth, as well as to hear the sentiments of the Emperor, and of the States, upon the Czar's proposition ; after which, her Majesty's answer will be given. Gaining of time, is undoubtedly right in this case, for our interest, as I perceive, by Mr. Whitworth, the Czar seems to think it wrong for his.

The uncertainty, which your Excellency mentions Prince Eugene to have been in, concerning his journey hither, was owing, without doubt, to the first answer which I gave to Monsieur Hoffman, and has produced this second application ; her Majesty's resolutions upon which, are contained in my other letter.

The conference which I find your Excellency had with the Imperial and Dutch Ministers, and of which, you give an account in your dispatch of the first of January, is very remarkable. The Queen approves your Excellency's conduct in it ; and I think nothing can be added to what you represented, neither shall I say any more upon that subject, till I send you the state of the war above-mentioned.

The

The orders I have to communicate to your Excellency, concerning the Prussian and Saxon troops, are these: As to such of the former, as his Prussian Majesty has thought fit, without the consent of the Queen and the States, during the winter to recall, her Majesty's approves of the resolution taken in Holland, and directs your Excellency to speak accordingly. The treaty for the eleven Prussian battalions, which serve in Italy, you will endeavour to renew; and the Queen will, on this condition, pay the arrear claimed of the two-thirds of 70,000 crowns *per annum*, for 1710 and 1711; but she will not engage singly to stand to this new bargain, made at first without any authority from her, and therefore insists to know beforehand, what the Emperor and the Dutch do. Much less may your Excellency believe her Majesty will agree to the new demand, made by Bonét, of 100,000 crowns *per annum* more for the same body.

The treatment which her Majesty received the last year, from King Augustus, has made her take a reasonable warning, and therefore you are upon this head to pursue your former orders. The Queen in-

VOL. II.

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clines to think the condition of the Saxon troops such, that it will be impossible to have the entire corps recruited ; in consideration of which, and of the other points mentioned in your Excellency's dispatch, you are at liberty to take only a part of these troops, in concurrence with the States, for the next campaign.

We have plunged ourselves already too deep in Northern affairs, and the event has shown, that all our measures have tended to bring that upon us, which we thought to avoid by them. Your Excellency will, therefore, take care that the Queen may not by any means renew that guarantee, or stipulate any thing concerning it.

Monfieur Rosenkrantz * has informed the Queen, that his master has thought fit to depart from his demand of an additional subsidy, and that he therefore hopes, there will be no farther delay in concluding the treaty with him, which, if her Majesty pleases not to obstruct, he thinks the States-General inclined to finish. I am directed to let him know, that this matter is in your Excellency's hands ; that by the Queen's

* Danish Envoy.

order, I communicate to you the King of Denmark's offer ; and that it is her Majesty's intention, that your Excellency should facilitate the settling of the treaty, in conjunction with the ministers of the States.

I am to wish your Excellency a happy new year, and many of them, full of honour, and uninterrupted satisfaction, which I do from the bottom of my heart, and subscribe myself,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.*

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, January 1st, 1711-12.

I AM to begin this dispatch, by wishing your Lordships a happy new year ; and, in order to render it such to all these parts of the world, success in the great negotiation, which you are entering upon.

I am willing to hope, that this messenger will find your Lordships at Utrecht, since the ministers of the Queen, who appointed the

* Public letter.

congress, should naturally set to the rest of the allies the example of going to it; since a little share of sincerity and good-will, must have rendered your preliminary business at the Hague short; since the ministers of the States, some time ago, seemed to apprehend an evil consequence might arise, if the French were on the spot too long before us; and since not only the season of the year, but a multitude of other considerations, make it very important to hasten on the conferences, that we may see in time what we have to trust to, either from friends or enemies.

Since your Lordship's instructions were signed by her Majesty, it has been observed, that the Elector Palatine, and the four associated Circles, are not specifically mentioned in them. As to the former, I know little or nothing which your Lordships have to insist upon in his behalf, except the preservation of his rank in the Electoral College, and the dismemberment of the Upper Palatinate made in his favour.

Upon these two heads, your Lordships are already sufficiently apprized of her Majesty's intentions; and may be farther authorised to treat,

treat, by additional instructions, if they shall be thought necessary. As to the four associated circles, I suppose, their safety and our union with them, are best provided for by obtaining a barrier for the Empire, which is laid down at large in her Majesty's instructions, and by perfecting the treaty which Count de Rechteren * negociated; and the which you, my Lord Strafford, have upon some occasions, received orders to promote.

A packet which I sent some days since to Gravesend, and which, I was very glad to find at the return of the messenger, did not come to your hands, my Lord Privy Seal, is by this opportunity transmitted to your Lordships; besides the papers contained in it, there are some others now sent. The first is a memorial drawn by the Count Maffei †, after a conference which he had with the Lords, by her Majesty's order, containing such a plan of a barrier for Savoy and Piedmont, as his Royal Highness judges to be the least that is necessary for his security.

* Amelot Count de Rechteren, a deputy of the province of Overysse to the States-General, had been Envoy to many of the Courts of Europe, and was a Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Utrecht.

† The Letter and Memoire of Maffei, dated 24th December, 1711.

Your Lordships know so well, how truly solicitous the Queen is to procure all possible satisfaction to this Prince, and of how great moment it is to the future repose of Europe, that he be put in a condition of defending himself against any neighbour, who may hereafter attack him, that I need say nothing to your Lordships more, than that her Majesty would have you let the Ministers of his Royal Highness know, in what manner you are instructed to act for him, and that you would please to concert with them the best measures for obtaining his demands.

If they should press, as the Count Maffei has done here, to be assured of some aggrandizement in all events on the side of Italy, your Lordships will please to speak in the same language, as the Earl of Dartmouth has by the Queen's command writ, that her Majesty continues still in the same disposition towards his Royal Highness, and in the same sentiments concerning his interests, as he has been already acquainted with; but that she foresees great difficulties in rendering any such scheme practicable; and that she thinks the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont to the Archduchess must be the foundation of all

all future demands; that her Majesty is ready to do her utmost in pressing this forward, as well as in obtaining the money due from the Imperial Court to his Royal Highness, and in advancing his interest in every other respect. That it is impossible she should be able to reduce her own before the opening of the Congress to a certainty, but that she will have the same firmness for one as for the other; and that the perfect concert which your Lordships hope will be established between the ministers of his Royal Highness, and yourselves, will enable you to take hold of, and to improve opportunities which may arise in the course of the negotiation, and which cannot be at this distance foreseen.

Before I leave this subject, I must beg leave to mention two things which occur to me in writing. The first is, that I perceive, by the Count de Maffei, the French very artificially endeavour to amuse his Royal Highness by great expectations of grandeur on the side of Italy, and at the expence of others, in order to make him sink in his demands of security on the side of France, which must be procured by con-

cessions from them. The other is, that when your Lordships treat for the barrier of Savoy and Piedmont, you may draw a very good argument from the manner in which the French carried on the war in those countries. They were not contented with conquering their strong places, but they demolished them all, as if even in this war they meditated another, and were resolved to have their way into Italy always open.

Another paper which I send to your Lordships, is the copy of a letter writ by the Duke of Lorrain to her Majesty*. The Queen

* *Le Duc de Lorraine à sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.*

"MADAME,

"JE me suis déjà donné l'honneur d'implorer la protection de votre Majesté, dès les premiers avis que j'ai reçu du renouement de la paix, parce que c'est uniquement sur son puissant appui que je fonde mes espérances pour la réussite de mes justes prétensions; mais puisqu'il a plu depuis à votre Majesté de régler le jour & le lieu pour le congrès, je prends la liberté de recourir de nouveau à ses bontés, pour la supplier très humblement de conserver dans cette importante occasion, les généreuses intentions qu'elle a toujours fait paroître en faveur de mes intérêts. Et comme j'ai tout lieu d'espérer que mes Plénipotentiaires seront admis aux conférences, de même que les autres ministres, par la raison que mes griefs ont été occasionnés par la présent guerre, que parce que les intérêts des Princes qui s'y trouvent engagés doivent être ajustés pendant cette négociation, suivant les articles que votre Majesté a fait communiquer à ses hauts alliés tout nouvellement; ainsi je la supplie très humblement d'ordonner dès à présent à ses ministres de soutenir les miens pendant le tems des conférences, & de les y faire assister par son autorité royale, afin qu'ils puissent observer mes intérêts & les porter sous sa protection royale à une heureuse issue. La confiance très res-

pectueuse

Queen is very much inclined to assist the Prince in his pretensions; but she does not see that he is very well founded in demanding to be received as a party to this treaty, who is no member of the grand alliance, nor any party in the war. The equivalent for the Montferrat, he has a very just right to demand of the Emperor; and as the Queen is engaged by her guaranty of the treaty made with the Duke of Savoy, so it is her intention to assist him in the procuring of it.

The Duke of Hamilton and Colonel Douglas have both made their humble applications to her Majesty, the one for the restitution of his duchy of Chatelheraut, the other to be restored to an estate which he claims as belonging to him in Alsatia; the book of the former, and the petition and memorial* of the latter, are herewith sent to your Lordships.

An

spectueuse que j'ai aux bontés de votre Majesté, me fait espérer qu'elle ajoutera cette grâce à toutes les précédentes dont elle m'a comblé, & qu'elle daignera être persuadée de l'attachement inviolable, & du très profond respect avec lequel j'aurai l'honneur d'être toute ma vie, Madame, de votre Majesté,

“ Le très humble & très obeissant cousin & serviteur,
 “ Luneville, 20 Dec. 1711. “ LEOPOLD.”

* “ To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

“ The

An exprefs which I received this morning,
brought me a letter from Monsieur de Torcy,
in

“ The humble petition of Colonel Charles Douglas.

“ Humbly fheweth,

“ That your Majesty’s petitioner and father did always
fervé honeftly and faithfully in the army, both in your Ma-
jesty’s reign, and in that of your royal predecessor, by which
means they were feveral times forfeited of their eftate and
pretentions in France, the truth whereof may appear by a
memorial given to the King of France, by the Earl of Man-
cheftér, by the late King’s fpecial command; which memorial
was fome years ago given to your Majesty, and is now lying
by with fome of your Majesty’s papers; as alfo a recom-
mendation of the Parliament of Scotland, in 1703, whereby
the Parliament addreffed your Majesty, to provide for Sir Wil-
liam Douglas, and his family, as having had an eftate forfeited
for the nation’s caufe; and now that all your Majesty’s sub-
jects are, in all appearance, near reaping the advantage of a
good and honourable peace :

“ May it therefore pleafe your Majesty, to allow your peti-
tioner, in all humility, to beg your Majesty’s royal
affiftance and protection, to recover what eftate he and
his father have wanted thefe many years, for being
zealous to your Majesty’s fervice and government, by
giving fuch direftions to your Plenipotentiaries, for the
reftitution of the faid eftate, feized and forfeited in the
manner aforefaid, but more particularly for the reftitu-
tion of two villages in Alface; a memorial whereof is
hereunto annexed. And your Majesty’s petitioner fhall
ever pray, &c.

“ Mémoire pour leurs Excellences les Plénipotentiaires
de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, au fujet des terres
& dépendances des villages de Dankelfheim & Kit-
lelheim reffort de Haguenau, en Alface, qui appar-
tiennent de droit à Monsieur Douglas, par le droit
de fon père, & de fon grand-père, Monsieur de Ba-
tilly.

“ (1) Que feu Monsieur de Batilly, grand-père de Mon-
fieur Douglas, jouit pendant plus de trente années confécutives
des villages & dépendances de Dankelfheim & Kitlelheim, en
vertu de la conceffion à lui fait, par Monsieur R. C. Oxen-
ftiern, Général & Plénipotentiaire de la Couronne de Suède,
au nom de la Reine Chriftine, felon le pouvoir qu’elle lui en
avoit

in answer to that which I writ to him, when
by her Majesty's orders, I sent the passes for
the

avoit donné, pour satisfaire aux sommes d'argent avancées par le Sieur de Batilly pour l'entretien de son régiment, pour satisfaction de ses gages, & enfin pour récompense des services qu'il avoit rendu au Roi Gustave Adolphe, père de la dite Reine.

“(2) Que l'Alsace a été cédée à la France par un traité de paix, à la charge d'exécuter & entretenir ce que la Couronne de Suède y avoit fait & réglé pendant que la dite Alsace étoit sous sa domination, & qu'ainsi le Roi Louis XIII, avoit bien voulu confirmer le don de la Couronne de Suède en faveur de Monsieur de Batilly, par des lettres-patentes du 19 Septembre, 1635, qui portent défense à toute sorte de personnes, de quelle qualité qu'elles puissent être, de le troubler dans la possession des dits villages, à lui donnés par la Couronne de Suède, en payment de ses services; & que pour le plus favorablement traiter & gratifier, il les prenoit, lui & ses sujets, avec tous leurs biens & familles, sous sa protection & sauvegarde spéciale, afin que par ce moyen il peut jouir des dits villages avec plus de sûreté, & être garanti des violences & autres empêchemens qu'on lui pourroit causer.

“(3) Que le présent Roi, en 1648, à parlement, confirme Monsieur de Batilly dans la possession des dits villages, ce qui paroît par une sauvegarde du 14^{me} Mars, 1648, qui fait défense de loger, ni souffrir être logés, aucun gens de guerre dans les dits villages appartenans à Monsieur Antoine de Batilly, Maréchal-de-camp dans ses armées, & Gouverneur de la ville & château de Neufchâteau, ni souffrir qu'on lève aucunes contributions des dits villages, en considération des recommandables services qu'il avoit rendu non-seulement à la Couronne, mais aussi à ses alliés & confédérés; voulant dire, de la Couronne de Suède de qui il tenoit les dits villages.

“(4) Que l'on peut remarquer par un jugement du 23^{me} Février, 1655, rendu par son Altesse Monsieur Prince Henri de Lorraine, alors Grand Prévôt de la prévôté & province de Haguenau, que feu Monsieur de Batilly a rendu la foi & hommage à sa Majesté Très Chrétienne entre les mains du dit Prince, & qui ordonne que le Sieur de Batilly soit reconnu & respecté par les sujets & habitans de Dankelsheim & Kildesheim, comme un Seigneur des dits villages.

“(5) Que pour empêcher les différends qui auroient pu survenir entre les habitans des dits villages & leur Seigneur,
Monsieur

the French Plenipotentiaries. That the Dutch ministers are upon this occasion, to be

Monsieur de Batilly, à l'égard des droits, Monsieur le Prince de Lorraine a fait une ordonnance du dit Février, 1655, de ce que l'une & l'autre des parties devoient observer de part & d'autre.

" (6) Que Monsieur le Duc de Montausier qui succéda au Prince de Lorraine avoit continué Monsieur de Batilly dans la possession des deux dits villages, & dans les mêmes droits qu'avoit fait avant lui Monsieur le Prince de Lorraine, ce qui prouve assez la légitime possession du Sieur de Batilly.

" (7) Que Monsieur le Duc Mazarin, étant en faveur, & gouverneur d'Alsace, avoit réuni au domaine du Grand Bailage de Haguenau, plusieurs villages, entr'autres, Dankelsheim, Kitlenheim, & Minfersheim, tous de la même mouvance & dépendance, & cela sous l'exposé qu'ils avoient été aliénés du domaine du Grand Bailage; mais que le Baron de Vanghen ayant remontré en cour, que lui et ses prédécesseurs avoit joui librement et paisiblement du revenu du domain utile du village de Minfersheim en vertu de la concession que l'Archiduc Léopold avoit fait à son oncle George Théodoric de Vanghen, de la même manière que la couronne de Suède avoit cédé et donné au Sieur de Batilly, Dankelsheim et Kitlenheim, que le Roi avoit bien voulu reconnoître le droit du Baron de Vanghen par des lettres-patentes du 19me Février, 1672, par lesquelles il le confirme de nouveau dans la possession et jouissance du domaine utile de Minfersheim; lequel village, dans les mêmes patentes, est dit être de la même mouvance et dépendance que Dankelsheim et Kitlenheim, ce qui fait voir que les dits villages avoient été mal réunis au domaine, par Monsieur le Duc Mazarin, sous un faux exposé du dit Duc.

" (8) Que Monsieur de Batilly est mort paisiblement chez lui, et n'a jamais été accusé d'aucun crime, que d'être Protestant, qui lui fit perdre dans un jour 20,000 écus de rente, qu'il avoit de ses emplois, plutôt que de changer de religion; mais, pour cela, il n'avoit pas moins de droit pour devoir rentrer dans la possession de ces villages, aussi-bien que le Baron de Vanghen, dans celui de Minfersheim, qui étoit de la même mouvance et dépendance que les siens.

" (9) Que Monsieur de Batilly étant dégoûté de la cour par le procédé ci-dessus mentionné, résolut de n'y jamais retourner, non pas même pour solliciter ses villages; mais ayant sa fille mariée au Chevalier Douglas, il lui donna ces deux villages,

be simply Commissaries, and that they are to have no full powers, is, I take it for granted, a mistake.

I send

lages, avec les arrérages des rentes dûes, au lieu du quart dans la seigneurie de Montoi, qu'il étoit obligé de lui donner par le contract de mariage de sa fille. Ainsi ces deux villages, avec leurs dépendances, furent acceptés par le Chevalier Douglas, au lieu de dot avec sa femme, comme il paroît par un acte passé à Metz, par devant Notaires, le 16me Janvier, 1675.

“(10) Que Monsieur Douglas est le seul héritier du Chevalier Douglas, de sa mère défunte, et de Monsieur de Batilly, son grand-père.

“Que si on objectoit la prescription :

“(1.) On répond que la prescription n'a pas lieu dans un cas d'usurpation.

“(2.) Que Monsieur le Chevalier Douglas, a donné un placet au Roi, en l'an 1675, faisant voir son droit, & l'usurpation du Duc Mazarin, auquel placet il fut répondu ambigument.

“(3.) Que le Roi Guillaume, d'heureuse mémoire, fit demander au Roi Très Chrétien à la dernière paix, les dits villages, par my Lord Manchester, son Ambassadeur en France, pour être rendus au Chevalier Douglas, & que selon ce qui fût répondu à l'Ambassadeur, Monsieur Douglas auroit été incessamment remis en possession des dits villages, si la guerre n'étoit survenue dans cette entrefaite.

“Si l'on objectoit que Monsieur le Duc Mazarin, est en possession des dits villages, en vertu des lettres-patentes qu'il a du Roi, & que cette possession est bonne :

“(1.) On répond à cela que c'étoit une usurpation de Monsieur le Duc Mazarin, d'avoir obtenu des lettres-patentes du Roi sous un faux exposé, comme on le peut remarquer par le procès du Barone de Vanghen, & par les lettres-patentes que le dit Baron obtenoit du Roi, pour le remettre en possession de son village de Minfersheim, dont il avoit été dépossédé par le Duc Mazarin pour des pareilles raisons que Monsieur de Batilly étoit des siens.

“(2.) Dans toutes les lettres-patentes il y a une clause qui dit *sauf le droit d'autrui*. Ainsi le Roi ne donne par ces lettres-patentes que ce qui est à lui, & enfin telles lettres-patentes que Monsieur le Duc Mazarin ait pu obtenir du Roi, sous un faux exposé, ne peuvent être valables au préjudice du droit de Monsieur de Batilly.

“(1.) On

I send Barlow with this dispatch, so that your Lordships have three of the Queen's messengers now with you. The letters can come safely by no other conveyance, and I hope you will please constantly to use it. I will take care that there may be always some messengers on your side.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

“(1.) On remarquera que les deux villages ont été réunis par Monsieur le Duc Mazarin au domaine du grand Baillage qui appartient au Roi en propre.

“(2.) Que le Duc Mazarin ne possède ces deux villages que comme prévôt de Haguenau, & Gouverneur d'Alsace sa vie durant, ou à la volonté du Roi.

“(3.) Que le Roi, à la mort du Duc Mazarin, ou devant, peut donner son domaine ou aucune partie d'icelui, à qui il lui plaira.

“Et d'autant plus que les dits villages de Dankelsheim & Kitlefheim, paroissent avoir été mal réunies aux domaines du grand Baillage sous un faux exposé du Duc Mazarin, on espère, que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne ne souffrira pas que par son autorité, les dits villages soient détenus plus long-tems par le Duc Mazarin, qui n'a nul droit que par usurpation, au préjudice de Monsieur Douglas, à qui ils appartiennent de droit : Et qu'ainsi sa Majesté trouvera bon, de donner des ordres nécessaires pour que Monsieur Douglas, soit incessamment remis en possession des villages de Dankelsheim & Kitlefheim, comme aussi de tout ce qui lui peut légitimement appartenir en France.”

Du

Du Comte de Maffei.

MONSIEUR,

A Londres, ce 24^{me} Décembre, 1711.

JE me donne l'honneur de vous envoyer
le ci-joint Mémoire*, qui est l'ultimatum de
la

* “ Mémoire du Comte Maffei, Envoye-extraordinaire de son Altesse Royale de Savoye, auprès de sa Majesté Britannique, à Monsieur de St. Jean, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de sa Majesté, pour servir d'instruction aux Ministres Plénipotentiaires de la Reine, au Congrès d'Utrecht; pour obtenir de la France, par un ultimatum, la Barrière ci-dessous spécifiée, laquelle sa Majesté & son Conseil ont convenu être juste & raisonnable d'obtenir pour la sûreté des Etats de son Altesse Royale, & comme une de ces conditions *sine qua non*.

“ POUR LE PIEMONTE.

“ Que le Roi Très Chrétien cède à son Altesse Royale les Forts d'Exilles & de Fenestrelles avec les Vallées de Pragelas, d'Oulx, de Sezane, Exilles, & Château Dauphin, & généralement tout ce qui est dès la hauteur des Alpes depuis la Morianne à la Vallée de Barcelonnette, prenant cette Barrière par le Col de la Rouë, les Echelles, le Mont Genève, le Col de l'Agnel, & autres Alpes & aux pendantes du côté du Piémont, entre lesquelles les dites Vallées se trouvent; prenant la sommet des dites Alpes, les plaines, & terres sur les dites Alpes à diviser par moitié entre la France, & son Altesse Royale, pour être les dits Monts, Forts, Vallées, & lieux cédés, tenus, & possédés pleinement, & à perpétuité par sa dite Altesse Royale & ses successeurs en toute propriété & souveraineté comme des choses leur appartenantes en propre.

“ Que pour la sûreté de cette barrière, le Roi de France fasse démolir toutes les fortifications de Briançon, sans qu'elles puissent jamais plus être rétablies, & c'est sur cette seule condition que son Altesse Royale se départ de la demande qu'elle faisoit de la cession de Briançon & de Mont Dauphin.

“ POUR LA SAVOYE.

“ Que la France cède Barreau, démoli, avec les terres qui sont entre le dit Barreau & Monmeillan, d'un côté de la rivière d'Isère, & de l'autre côté Gonfelin, avec les autres terres jus-
qu'à

la Barrière que sa Majesté & son Conseil ont trouvé juste & raisonnable d'obtenir de la France pour la sûreté des états de son Altesse Royale, comme les Seigneurs s'en sont expliqués dans la conférence qu'ils m'ont donnée ce matin, ce que vous savez mieux que moi ; je ne doute pas que sa Majesté n'ait la bonté de donner ses ordres en cette conformité à ses Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht, & qu'elle ne veuille bien en donner des assurances positives à son Altesse Royale par la réponse de laquelle elle l'honorera.

qu'à la Rochette, & au Col de Vaugiani, donnant un dédommagement en argent, de la démolition de Monmeillan, pour le rebâtir, ou bien qu'elle cède Barreau fortifié.

“ Que toutes les terres, lieux, & villages que la France se fit céder par le traité de Lion, qui se trouvent au delà du Rhône du côté de Savoye, soient cédés à son Altesse Royale, avec l'usage commun du Rhône, entre le Roi Très Chrétien & son Altesse Royale, depuis Genève jusqu'à St. Genis d'Aoste.

“ Les villages que la France se réserva du côté de Savoye, par le dit traité, & desquels on demande présentement la cession, sont sept : Aire, Chancy, Auully, Pont d'Aslot, Seyssel, Chanzuz, & Pierre Chafdel.

„ POUR LE COMTE DE NICE.

“ Que Monaco soit cédé à son Altesse Royale en dédommagement des démolitions du Château de Nice, & autres forts de cette comté, comme aussi pour la sûreté de cette province qui se trouve ouverte du côté de son Altesse Royale & enfermée par cette place d'un côté, & par celle d'Antibes de l'autre.

“ Et que son Altesse Royale, ait le libre exercice de sa souveraineté, sur les terres de Menton & Rovalbruna, comme l'ont eu autrefois ses ancêtres, & comme exige la justice des raisons incontestables que son Altesse Royale a sur ces deux terres.

“ Le COMTE MAFFEI.”

A l'égard du point de l'aggrandissement, je me promets que sa Majesté continuera dans les mêmes sentimens de vouloir le procurer de tout son pouvoir à son Altesse Royale, comme elle a eu la bonté de le lui faire espérer, et qu'elle donnera de même ses ordres à ses Plénipotentiaires, pour concerter & donner les mains à tous les expédiens & moyens, qui pourront être propres dans le cours de la négociation, à parvenir plus aisément à la juste fin que sa Majesté s'est proposée là-dessus pour mieux assurer la paix qu'on fera, & maintenir l'équilibre, à quoi la situation des états de son Altesse Royale aggrandie & unie indissolublement à l'Angleterre par les mêmes intérêts, & par reconnaissance, peut donner beaucoup d'influence.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 1st, 1711.

I WISH your Excellency a long course of happy years ; nature will allow you time, your fortune will afford you some ingredients, and your good understanding more ; but nothing can complete the blessing ex-

VOL. II.

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cept that peace, and the consequences of it, which you are labouring to advance.

Not hearing of Prince Eugene, I conclude the wind stopped him first, as the orders which Hayward brings your Excellency will for good and all; to say the truth, should he come at this time, he would be exposed to receive some mortification. The faction, under the pretence of doing him honour, would make use of him to serve their purposes; and these steps would as certainly raise a ferment on the other side.

If the measures of our junto and their allies have been disconcerted, from the reasons which your Excellency mentions, they are more so here, and will be more so on your side, by two resolutions which the Queen has taken and executed almost at once:—I mean the increase of twelve to the House of Peers, and the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough from all his employments. To-morrow the House of Lords meets, and the Queen will, by message, order them to adjourn till the day on which the Commons are to sit; after that, she may perhaps prorogue the Parliament for a day or two; but whether she does this or
not,

not, she will speak again to both Houses; and I hope we shall begin this session in a better manner than the Queen's lenity suffered us to do the last. Your Excellency sees that we have taken our ground, and made our disposition for attacking in the House of Commons; the same must be done above stairs; and there these heroes, like their predecessor, Bully Dawson, will put up their swords as soon as the enemy draws his.

I cannot account for what your Excellency mentions concerning the knowledge which they have in Holland of the French memorial; it is so very wild, that we have not so much as laid it before the Cabinet: Buys, indeed, often pressed for the particulars of what we had writ, and of what Monsieur de Torcy had answered, but he was as often bantered, and insensibly led into another subject. Mr. Duyvenvoorde's intelligence I am also at a loss to understand. The public letters which I receive from your Excellency are never read except in Cabinet, the private never even there, unless now and then a passage be necessary for the information of the Lords. But, my Lord,

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the Dutch in general, like the rest of our allies, are out of humour; and therefore every particular man suspects, guesses, invents, torments himself, and plagues all that converse with him. It is not, indeed, to be wondered at, for the scheme of politics at present in vogue here, does not tally so well as the former with the wishes of the confederates. They had nothing to do, before but to buy, or, some way or other, to engage two or three men, and this rich, fruitful province was their own: we have at last thought fit to set up for independency.

Nothing will so much convince the Dutch of the necessity of making peace, as seeing plainly that Britain will alter her measures of waging wars; your Excellency will therefore do well to whisper that often into their ears; and if they object, the evil consequence which the knowledge of this must have with the enemy, the reply is obvious—We are sensible of it, and sorry for it; but they are only to blame who force to this necessity a Princess, to whose friendship they owe not only the salvation, but the grandeur of their republic; and who choose rather to lean on the broken reed of a routed
* faction,

faction, than to stand on the solid basis which an entire confidence in her would establish.

I begin by this opportunity my joint correspondence with your Excellency and the Bishop, in such matters as are to be transacted by you jointly.

Before I conclude, I must tell you, that I find the Emperor begins to *filer doux*; his answers to the Queen's letter, which Mr. Watkins, whose manner of executing his commission has given great satisfaction to her Majesty, transmitted to us, is in very modest terms.

Open the conferences, let the enemy understand they must help themselves and you; let our allies understand, that they shall neither insult nor mislead us; and I hope we shall be able to co-operate with you from hence.

Adieu. I am, my dear Lord, &c.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitchall, January 2d, 1711-12.

HAVING been obliged to keep the messenger till this morning, I gain a moment's

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time

time to write a few words apart to your Lordship.

My public dispatches contain the letter in form which I received from Monsieur de Torcy, in this I send your Lordship a copy of the private one writ to me by that Minister. The turn of it is remarkable, and only for Lord Strafford and yourself. Mr. Watkins is, I suppose by this time, returned from executing a commission which her Majesty gave him to the Emperor; your Lordship must allow me to desire that you would please to use him with some tenderness; you will find his capacity and experience in business very great. I know no man who has a finer pen, and I would trust my honour to his integrity.

No man living is with more respect, my Lord, &c. than

H. St. J.

To Mr. Watkins.

S I R,

Whitehall, Jan. 2d, 1711.

BESIDES a letter of form, give me leave to write you one of friendship, and
to

to begin by assuring you that the illness which you have, by the hardship of your journey, contracted, very sensibly affects me.

I perceive, as well by what you writ to me as by what Mr. Drummond told me you had writ to him, that you are uneasy in your station of Secretary of the Queen in Holland. I can account for some causes of your chagrin very easily, but I can as easily foresee that the arrival of my Lord Privy Seal will remove them. The holy black Swede * knows your merit, and will, for his own sake as well as yours, endeavour to reconcile you to the province you are at present in; besides, should you insist to be removed just at the time when the conferences open, and when the Duke, your old master, is by her Majesty dismissed, the true reason of this measure would be known to few, and variety of fictitious ones would be given and believed by the world. My advice therefore is, and it comes from a heart sincerely affectionate to you, that you repair to Utrecht, and that you enter upon the business of your employment.

* The Bishop had been thirty-two years resident in Sweden.

My Lord Treasurer fully intends to provide for you here, that after so many years labour abroad, you may sit down under an English fig-tree.

In every letter I must thank you for the good-nature you show to my brother. I wish he may make the proper use of the opportunity which he has, and lay in a store of knowledge in the right season for it.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.*

S I R,

Whitchall, Jan. 4, 1711.

THE Duke of Marlborough having sent me your letter of the 5th of January, N.S. together with the project inclosed in it, I have laid the whole before her Majesty; who commands me to write to you, that it is her pleasure that you do encourage and promote, as much as possible, the execution of the design of ruining the navigation on the Sambre, which you have formed,

* The Duke of Marlborough was dismissed from his post of Commander in Chief at home and abroad, on the 31st of December, and, until a successor was appointed, Cadogan was Commander of the forces in Flanders,

which

which has been approved in Holland, and which the Earl of Albemarle is authorized to undertake.

Thus much the Queen thought necessary to be writ immediately to you ; her Majesty's farther directions you may expect by the post of Tuesday.

I am, &c.

A Monsieur d'Hervæert.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 4^{me} Janvier, 1711-12.

J'AI été, je vous l'avoue, un peu inquiet sur le sujet de la lettre que je vous écrivis il y a quelque tems, & qui a fait tant de bruit en Hollande ; mais je vous ai rendu justice, & je n'ai jamais cru que vous eussiez eu le moindre mauvais dessein en la montrant ; ainsi, Monsieur, ne parlons plus, s'il vous plaît, de ce contretems.

Voici les conférences ouvertes, & je ne doute pas qu'il n'y aient beaucoup de gens qui déployeront tout leur savoir-faire pour les rompre ; mais pourvu que les François veuillent acheter la paix à un prix raisonnable, j'espère que nous viendrons à bon port.

Je

Je fais qu'il n'est pas nécessaire, que je vous exhorte à travailler à détruire ces fausses idées que les factieux chez nous, & leurs alliés chez vous, tâchent de semer. Vous souhaitez la paix par un principe de Christianisme, aussi-bien que de politique, & vous êtes assez habile pour voir de quelle source sont venus toutes les oppositions qu'on a fait aux mesures de la Reine.

Le Prince Eugene a été depuis quelque jours sur nos côtes ; je ne fais si le vent contraire le laissera mettre pied à terre ; mais je crains fort que la disgrâce du Duc de Marlborough, rendra inutile une grande partie de ses instructions*.

Je vous souhaite une bonne & heureuse année, & je suis,

De tout mon cœur, votre, &c.

* Eugene was certainly sent over to favour the schemes of Marlborough's party: though informed that his ostensible errand, that of settling the proportion of troops for the next campaign, would not be discussed here, he persisted in coming over: the consequence was, that he accelerated the disgrace of his friend and companion in arms; and though he attempted to proceed upon business with the Ministers, they evaded it.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 8th, 1711.

THE messenger dispatched to your Lordship, this evening, from the other office, gives me that opportunity which I have waited now several weeks in expectation of.

If I could envy any happiness which you enjoy, it should be that of being at this time so far from home, nearer the sun, and at a distance from faction.

The ferment runs higher than ever I remember it to have done. Our stock of ill-humour has been sufficient to enable us to spare some for our allies, and they have in this, though in no other instance, kept touch with us, and made us returns of the same kind,

I will give your Lordship a full state of our case. I write only to yourself, not as a minister, but as a friend.

Some months ago, the French found means of applying to the Queen, and of desiring her assistance to set on foot a negotiation of peace. The first answer to this overture was, that they would do well to endeavour

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to renew the treaty, where it broke of. Your Lordship knows enough of the danger which the servants of the Crown expose themselves to, in this country, when they undertake almost any thing out of the common road, and will not, therefore, be surprized if the first thought, which arose in their minds, was that of their private safety.

The enemy absolutely refused to begin to treat with the Dutch, and renewed their addresses to the Queen, who received from them some general propositions, which were immediately sent into Holland.

After this, Prior went into France, and Mesnager came over hither. The whole intent of this negociation, was to try how far we could bring the enemy to offer and engage, without expecting any thing reciprocal from us. For, my Lord, after all the clamour which has been raised, the Queen is under no tie nor obligation to France, whatever France may be to her.

At last the general articles which you have seen, were received, to serve as inducements to the confederates to open the congress, and as propositions which contained in them
all

all that ever was, or that ever could be demanded.

The Queen exacted from France an engagement on several heads, relating to the interest of Britain, which is only to take effect in case a peace succeeds; and she declared, both to her friends and to her enemy, that this peace should never succeed, unless her allies had all reasonable satisfaction in their several pretensions.

On this foot, what injustice was done? What ill consequence could follow?

If those who are to get all by the war, and who have hitherto done nothing, had been so alarmed at the prospect of a peace, as really, and in fact, to have altered their measures, and have prepared for greater efforts; we might, in this case, have broke off the treaty, and have pursued the great system of gaining, by force of arms, Spain and the West Indies.

If we found such an alteration not to be hoped for, if we found that our allies persisted to make us the bubbles of the war, we might however, have been secure of not being the dupes of the peace; the Queen might have acted the part of mediatrix, have

have satisfied all the confederates but one, and have procured the greatest advantages to Britain.

These, my Lord, I take to be the principles on which the Queen built ; but the faction, whose violence you know, as well as the moderation of our Court, began to roar against any treaty without specific preliminaries, to suppose Spain and the Indies yielded to the Duke of Anjou ; to excite the Emperor, the Dutch, and others, to join with them, and to promise by this union to defeat the Queen's measures.

Thus was our weakness exposed to the enemy, thus were our friends encouraged to hope that they should be able to constrain us to continue the war upon the old foot, thus were the Dutch (who, by the way, if this negociation was broke, would give up Spain for a town more in their barrier, tomorrow) brought to insist that they shall have their separate advantages, but that this poor island shall reap none unless in common with them. What will be the issue of the treaty, God knows ! but I see too plainly, that we are to expect no means of rendering the war practicable. The Ministers

sters of Holland declare themselves incapable of doing more, and instead of excusing their deficiencies, value themselves upon their efforts. Prince Eugene is just arrived here, but we know already, by the proposals which he made in Holland, the sum of what he has to offer, and it amounts not to an augmentation of 10,000 men. In short, if the Queen attempts to go on upon the present scheme of expence, we are bankrupts; and if she retrenches here, I am sure the war must languish, and a beaten enemy triumph.

I make no scruple of giving this account to your Lordship thus plainly, because I know you not to be discouraged by difficulties. We must all join and endeavour to save our country from ruin. No Prince can be of greater use in this conjuncture than the Duke of Savoy, with whom your Lordship is to continue some time; and I hope that he will be satisfied with what has been said to his Ministers, both here and in Holland. The Queen will insist, to the last extremity, upon that barrier against France, which he has himself chalked out. His
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aggrandizement on the side of Italy, is a much more difficult point to treat, since that cannot be obtained but at the expence of the House of Austria, with whom we have measures to keep.

The marriage of the Duke of Piedmont, to the eldest Archduchess, must lead the way to all other measures on this head; the satisfaction for debts owing to his Royal Highness, will afford another reason; and several handles will, by one event or other, be given in the course of the negociation, which the Queen's Ministers will be sure to take hold of, in concert with those of his Royal Highness. In short, the Queen cannot reduce her own interests to an absolute certainty, before the opening of the conferences, but she will be as vigilant, as firm, for the Duke of Savoy, as for herself.

My letter is grown to an exorbitant length, it is time that I should release your Lordship; and conclude, with the most sincere assurances of being, my Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

P.S. I had forgot to say, that your Lordship will receive a letter of mine, writ at
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the time when the Queen thought your Lordship coming this way; in which case, you was to have come over to take your share in our domestic strife*. The uncertain going and coming of letters, has occasioned this variety of orders. You will now be settled for some time, and I hope your health will be entirely restored.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Jan. 8th, 1711.

NATURALLY the game we are now playing should be easy; when both sides are in want of peace, both sides should be reasonable; but it is rendered difficult by the unnatural proceedings of this faction, which encourages our allies to impose upon us, and which heartens our enemy, by showing the weakness of a divided people.

Prince Eugene is here, and had on Sunday his first audience of the Queen. His compliment I could not hear, though I was

* This was most likely at the opening of the present session, when the opposition carried every thing in their favour in the House of Lords.

in the closet, but the Queen's answer was in the words inclosed*. No doubt the discarding the Duke of Marlborough broke the measures which he came to act upon; and if the Queen will be so just to herself, and to those servants who have ventured all for her, as to go on, there will soon be a full period put to these seditious struggles at home, and to those ungrateful returns which she meets with from abroad†.

I hope

* Said to be, that the Queen was sorry the state of her health would not permit her to speak with his Highness as often as otherwise she would be glad to do; but that she had ordered these two gentlemen then present (Oxford and St. John) to receive his proposals and confer with him.

† The substance of two different accounts, sent by Prince Eugene to the Court of Vienna, and to Count Zinzendorf, at the Hague, January 29th and February 1st, N.S. 1711-12. (Delivered by my Lord President, and read at the Committee of Council, March 20th, 1711-12.)

"He acquainted the Court at Vienna, that he thought the present Ministry designed to ridicule him and his master, as their procrastinations do then, which made him listen to the proposals that his brother-general and Godolphin made to him, in the name of the party; namely, that they would firmly adhere to his Imperial Majesty, in case they could be at the helm once more; but that this cannot be effected without the removal of the Triumvirate. To which Baron Bothmar said, that the compassing thereof, without offending the populace, would be *bis labor, hoc opus*: whereunto Marlborough and Godolphin replied, that rather than it should fail, they should be De-Wited, but that Bothmar's answering this would be the only way to provoke the populace. Prince Eugene thereupon said, that there might be a medium found, whereby to avoid that danger, which would be to do it *à la négligence*, and in a frolicsome manner. Wherewith the juncto being

I hope to be able by Friday, to send you some news of other changes.—As to your

being made acquainted, it was by them resolved, that Prince Eugene should print a memorial to the purpose following, viz. that the Queen should be put in mind how she had promised, at her accession to the throne, that she would continue the alliance made by King William, and never make a peace without the restitution of the monarchy of Spain and the West Indies to the House of Austria; and that it was at her pressing instances, that the late Emperor Leopold made his son, the Archduke (who is now the present emperor) King of Spain; and that upon the reiterated promises and assurances which the Queen made him, the House of Austria had been induced to contribute more than it was well able, towards the carrying on the war, and that he had drained his hereditary countries, in order to the seconding her Majesty in supporting the common cause; and how, upon finding her Majesty hitherto sincere, he looked on her interest and his own to be inseparable, and that the same reasons which prevailed with her Majesty to enter into the war, held good still, to induce her to continue it, until the end should be obtained for which it was commenced; and that her Majesty's interest being entirely cemented with that of her allies, he doth hope, that the giving his advice at this critical juncture, will not be taken as if he censured her actions; and that she will remember both the advice of the late Emperor, Leopold, to King James, which he rejected, but afterwards repented when it was too late; as likewise the advice of the late Emperor Joseph to herself, on his conceiving that her changing the late Ministry (they being all of them men of public spirit) might prejudice the common cause. To all which the said Prince Eugene replied, that though what had been offered was popular enough, yet he would concert nothing without the approbation of his master, and the advice of Count Zinzendorf and of Pensionary Heinsius, to whom he then thought it proper to communicate it; which, accordingly, he did, and received the following answer thereunto, from the aforesaid Count, viz. that he had acquainted Pensionary Heinsius therewith, who was of opinion, that though it was very plausible, yet that his doing it would rather influence the Queen's Ministers to push on the peace; and that, therefore, it would be more proper either to get it inserted in Baron Bothmar's memorial (the better to please the people) or to reserve it till a more seasonable time.

your own interest, which upon my word, I will at all times to the utmost of my power promote, your Excellency may depend on the Queen's providing for you here suitably to your rank, and to those great services you

" Prince Eugene did, withal, acquaint Count Zinzendorf, how that finding the English to be full of projects, he had therefore made bold to propose one to the junto, which was that they should imitate Maitre Lewis, in what he did by his emissaries at Prague, in the year 1689, which Baron Bothmar having approved, he imparted it to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, who likewise approved very well of it, and did withal say, that the destruction of a few worthless fellows, now at the helm, ought not to stand in competition with the common cause, and that we must not lose the advantages of so many signal victories. and the benefit of ten years' successful war. Yea, Bothmar said, smiling, that it were better that all at the helm were blown up in the air, than that that should suffer; adding, that in case this project should take, though it might not prolong the war, yet it might be a mean of procuring a better peace for the allies; however, Count Zinzendorf wrote to Prince Eugene, that, in his opinion, it would not be proper for him to stay here to see the execution of it.

" Since the two former letters were written, whereof I have been giving a brief account, the said Prince Eugene did, this very March (before his departure hence) send two expresses more to the forementioned Count Zinzendorf, in one whereof he took the liberty to tell him, that neither would the Queen nor durst her Ministers, come into a separate peace; and that it was, therefore, the business of those who were her foreign allies, to make and propose such demands to the King of France, as he could neither, with his own honour, nor in justice to his people, comply with.

" In the other, he desired the aforesaid Count, to entreat of the present Emperor that he would offer security out of his hereditary estates for the loan of money; and how thereupon endeavours would be used here with the Bank of England, for his being furnished with such sums as should be needful in order to the further carrying on of the war (1)".

(1) These accounts are copied literally from the originals, in possession of the Editor.

have

have done her. Whether she intends any thing of this kind now, or at your return to Britain, I cannot tell, but I will try to know.

My Lord Rivers, having been forced in the beginning of the war out of the service, the Queen has long determined to give him a regiment, which, by making the Duke of Northumberland succeed the Duke of Ormond, she had an opportunity of doing.—I am unable to say any more to you at this time, than that

I am, with the utmost, &c.

A Son Altesse Royale le Duc de Savoye.

MONSEIGNEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 8me Jan. 1712.

J'AI reçu la lettre qu'il a plu à votre Altesse Royale de m'écrire du 18me du mois d'Octobre, avec tout le respect & toute la reconnaissance qui est due à un grand Prince, qui daigne accepter des services d'aussi peu d'importance que les miens.

Le Comte Maffei n'aura pas manqué de communiquer à votre Altesse Royale les instructions que sa Majesté a donné à ses Plé-

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nipotentiaires, & j'ose l'assurer que les intérêts de la Bretagne même ne peuvent pas être soutenus par la Reine, avec plus de fermeté que le feront ceux de votre Altesse Royale tant à Utrecht, que par tout ailleurs. Je prie Dieu qu'il donne à votre Altesse Royale une longue suite d'heureuses années.

Je suis, & je ferai toute ma vie, avec un profond respect de votre Altesse Royale,

Le très humble, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Jan. 12th, 1712.

YOUR private letters are as agreeable to me, as so many material circumstances in the transaction of business must render them to a man who needs and who desires the amplest informations, or as so many marks of your confidence and friendship must render them to a man who honours you without a compliment, and who loves you without affectation.

I make no question of the confidence in which your Excellency and the Privy Seal
I will

will live together, nor of that zeal which you will jointly exert in so good a cause.

I believe you will now hear the Queen goes on to take such vigorous measures, as can alone support her government, protect her servants, and save her kingdoms.

I am here interrupted, and must defer till Tuesday saying something to you, which has lately occurred to my thoughts, in reflecting upon our present situation.

I am, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 5me Jan. 1712.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 15me du mois dernier, V.S. avec les passeports d'Hollande que vous m'avez adressés, pour Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires du Roi. Comme l'intention de sa Majesté est d'avancer autant qu'il dépend d'elle l'ouverture des conférences, & la conclusion de la paix, qui doit en être le fruit, elle n'a pas hésité à se contenter de ces passeports, quoique dans une forme plus

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restreinte

restreinte que ceux que je vous ai envoyé par ses ordres.

J'espère, Monsieur, qu'on ne suscitera nul accident capable de retarder l'arrivée de Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht ; & comme vous avez envoyé des ordres particuliers à Monsieur le Comte de Strafford sur ce sujet, Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires du Roi s'adresseront à lui, s'il est nécessaire, qu'il agisse pour lever les difficultés qu'on pourroit former.

On apprend par les lettres d'Hollande, que chaque province doit nommer son Plénipotentiaire à la paix, que la seule province d'Hollande a nommé Messieurs Buys & Vanderdussen * pour assister aux conférences en qualité de Commissaires, & non de Plénipotentiaires. Comme la première démarche à faire, en ouvrant une pareille assemblée est de faire voir, & de se communiquer les pouvoirs des ministres qui la composent, il seroit impossible de traiter avec ceux qui n'auroient aucun pouvoir de traiter de la part de leurs maîtres. Je suis per-

* Pensionary of Gonda, or Tergow ; it will be recollected, that these two had the chief management of the conferences at Gertruydenburg, in 1709.

suadé,

suadé, Monsieur, que la Province d'Hollande ne voudra pas s'exposer a cet inconvénient ; je crois cependant que vous aurez jugé nécessaire d'en avertir Monsieur le Comte de Strafford, afin de prévenir une nouvelle difficulté dans un tems où l'on ne devrait songer de tous côtés qu'à faire cesser celles qui s'opposent au rétablissement du repos public. Je suis, très parfaitement,
Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 5^{me} Jan. 1712.

JE vois, Monsieur, avec beaucoup de plaisir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire de votre main, que vous êtes persuadé que la fermeté de la Reine aplanira toutes les difficultés qu'une cabale ennemie suscite chez vous, à la conclusion de la paix. Je vous avoue que ses mouvemens, le succès qu'ils paroissent avoir quelquefois, & les mesures prises dans les pays étrangers, alarment ceux qui ne peuvent connoître parfaitement l'intérieur de l'Angleterre,

l'Angleterre, & qui jugent de la nation sur de fausses apparences*.

Vous me rassurez entièrement, Monsieur, sur les bruits qui se répandent ; car je crois que vous trouverez bon que je m'intéresse sensiblement à tout ce qui vous regarde, vous & vos amis, & que, sur ce fondement, je sois inquiet pendant que vos ennemis seront en place. Comme vous savez mieux que personne jusqu'à quand il convient de laisser entre leurs mains le pouvoir de mal faire, & de se venger, je me renfermerai, sans vous donner aucun conseil, à vous assurer que les Plénipotentiaires du Roi partent bien instruits des intentions de sa Majesté, & qu'ils sont autorisés de manière à terminer bientôt la négociation.

J'espère donc qu'elle aura un prompt & heureux succès, & que Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne travailleront de leur part à écarter toutes les difficultés qui pourroient arrêter la conclusion de ce grand ouvrage.

Je suis, très parfaitement,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

* This is a private letter. Torcy had a party against him, and was as anxious for a peace as Oxford or St. John.

A Monsieur

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12me Janv. V.S. 1711.

JE réponds à l'honneur de votre lettre du 5me de ce mois.

Les ordres de la Reine, que j'ai envoyés à Monsieur le Comte de Stafford, ont eu leur effet, & vous aurez vu que ce ministre a pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour prévenir aucun incident capable de retarder l'arrivée de Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht.

Si les ministres Hollandois devoient assister aux conférences en qualité seulement de Commissaires, & non de Plénipotentiaires, comme le bruit a couru, & comme vous l'avez cru, il n'y auroit peut-être nulle réplique à l'objection que vous faites; mais je vois, Monsieur, par toutes mes lettres, aussi-bien que par celle que les États-Généraux ont écrit à la Reine, le 29me du mois passé, que le Sieur Buys & ses collègues sont nommés Plénipotentiaires au congrès qui se doit tenir à Utrecht.

Je suis, très parfaitement,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monsieur

A Monsieur de Torcy.*

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12me Janvier, V.S. 1711.

JE suis très sensible, de toutes vos honnêtetés, & de la part que vous prenez dans ce qui nous regarde, par rapport aux intrigues de nos factieux.

Il est constant que les difficultés qu'on nous oppose sont grandes ; mais la résolution de la Reine, secondée par les facilités que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne peut fournir, en viendra, je ne doute pas, à la fin à bout.

Nos lettres d'Utrecht du 19me de ce mois, N.S. marquent l'arrivée de Messieurs vos Plénipotentiaires : j'espère qu'ils ne partiront de cette ville qu'après avoir signé la paix.

Le Prince Eugene de Savoye a été depuis quelque jours ici ; son séjour ne sera pas long, & ses représentations n'auront pas l'effet qu'on s'est promis à la cour de l'Empereur.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

* This is a private letter.

T.

To Mr. Watkins.

SIR,

Whitehall, January 18th, 1711-12.

I AVOIDED writing to you till this night, because I was unwilling to trust my letter to any other conveyance than that of a messenger, having not only something to say relating to yourself, but likewise something which relates to the service to communicate to you.

Almost as soon as this comes to your hands, Monsieur d'Elorme will arrive at Utrecht. He is Resident to King Augustus, at our Court, and is ordered to the Congress, to what purpose, or under what character, I do not know. He is a vain and a lying Gascon, but wants no sagacity. I have made use of him, whilst he has been here, to discover several things of moment, and though he mingles a great deal of his own invention among the accounts which he gives, yet, upon the whole, he is a spy of the first class. I presented him this morning with 300l. by the Queen's command, and he has promised me, during his continuance at Utrecht, to penetrate as far as he
is

is able into the intrigues of the Germans, and others with whom he can have any opportunity of correspondence, and to inform you of what shall come to his knowledge. Nobody can have any suspicion of his being employed by me, and you will easily manage your ways of meeting him so as to occasion no umbrage among the Ministers where you are.

I have reason to think that King Augustus, among that variety of measures which his own genius, as well as the Count Flemming's*, put him upon, has lately pursued, that of linking himself closely with the Imperial Court. An Archduchess may, probably, be the lure, though she be to be purchased at the expence of his son's religion†. Supposing this to be the case, the Saxon Ministers will, at least, *à la fourdine*, cooperate with those of Vienna. D'Elorme may be of considerable service if this should happen.

I have promised to trust no one besides yourself, with the secret; and he has promised me to converse openly with you, and to write to me under your cover; the name

* The King of Poland's Minister at Berlin.

† Augustus himself, upon assuming the sovereignty of Poland, embraced the religion of Rome.

I shall

I shall direct to him by, is that of the Sieur Daniel.

I have another man, of a lower form, but whom I know to be subtle and bold. He shall be soon at Utrecht, and shall bring you a letter from me. This fellow is a veteran, and as high as his conversation can reach, will be extremely useful.

And now, good Judge, let me ask you, whether you believe that my situation in the world is perfectly as I could wish it; whether you imagine that I meet with no shock from my superiors, no perverseness from my equals, no impertinence from my inferiors? If you fancy me, or any one else, in such a state of bliss, you are wide from the mark.

I desire you to do for a while, no more than what I have done, ever since I trod the stage of public business; bear with the hardness of the temper you complain of, and the prejudice will soon decay, or if it does not, the true reason of your leaving the post which you are in, will be manifest to the world, and no false, no malicious turn can be then given to your removal.

I use this liberty, because I persuade myself you are convinced of the true value

which

which I have for your merit, and that you will believe I judge in your case as I should do in my own.

We have struggled this winter through inconceivable difficulties, in opposition to a powerful faction at home, to all our allies, and even the successor himself abroad; and, I may say, we have combated an habit of thinking falsely, which men have been used to for twenty years.

If we finish our work, as I do not fear but we shall, the success must be ascribed to the unshaken firmness of the Queen's servants, and to the loyalty of the church interest, which even ill usage could not alienate.

I beg the continuance of your countenance to my brother; pray give my service, and let him know that I shall soon supply him with some money, which, I hope, he will spend like a man of sense.

The measures which the House of Commons seems determined to take, of putting the war upon such a foot as is reasonable and supportable, will, I believe, facilitate your negotiations, at least the allies will become more pliable. Adieu, Sir, I am, &c.

Do you know that our John Drummond*
is to succeed Sweet†?

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 18th, 1711.

MY public letter contains nothing, but I have some materials for a private dispatch, which it may be proper to inform you of; and, by you, my Lord Privy Seal. I expected that easiness which the French Ministers have shown, and am persuaded that small matters will not retard the conclusion of the great work.

When I came this morning into the House of Commons, they were considering the address drawn in answer to the Queen's message, and some of the Whigs had proposed to add to those words, where notice is taken of the satisfaction to be procured the allies according to their several treaties, these that follow:—*Particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies.* The addi-

* To whom many letters in this collection are addressed.

† Sweet was Pay-master or Commissary of the forces in Flanders, and was involved in Marlborough's dismissal and disgrace.

tion was opposed by some of our friends, and would have been rejected by a great majority, but being the very words used by the Queen in her message, contrived with caution, and expressing no more than the grand alliance expresses, which is a foundation we affect to stand upon, I thought it better to let it pass.

I have two reasons for mentioning this to your Excellency: first, to show what a temper the House of Commons is in, and how little the warrior-party know of this nation; secondly, to prepare you to answer any false colour which may be given from hence, as if the Whigs had inserted these words by their strength, or as if these words imported the same as those which we rejected in the beginning of the session.

Maffei cannot yet proceed, the wind continuing easterly. When he does come, I am humbly of opinion, that yourself and Lord Privy Seal should take with him, and with the other Ministers of Savoy, an air of great confidence: France will give the barrier, and the other point, your Lordship will, as well as the circumstances of affairs and the Queen's situation will allow, which is all

*

that

that can be expected; on the other hand, they will be good instruments in your hands, upon many occasions.

The Duchefs of Somerfet, I look upon to be actually difmiffed, although the Queen has not yet declared it; we fhall, I believe, at laft, come to a fettlement. You will agree, I am fure, it is high time that we fhould.

The Prince Eugene has put into my hands the heads of what he pretends he is fent hither to negotiate. I have drawn up a large anfwer to every one, which will be approved, I believe, on Sunday; and, by confequence, fent to you, as well as communicated to him, by Tuefday*. He will find

* “ En réponfe au Mémoire du Prince Eugene de Savoye, du 7me Février, V.S. (18me, N.S.) j’ai eu l’honneur de faire favoir au dit Prince, par ordre exprès de la Reine, entre autres chofes, que fa Majefté ne pouvoit pas répondre de l’effort qu’elle feroit en état de faire cette année en Efpagne, jufqu’à ce qu’elle vît quels fubfides lui feroient accordés par fon parlement pour cet effet. Et qu’elle donneroît communication à la Chambre Baffe de la propofition qui lui a été faite de la part de l’Empereur, par laquelle fa Majefté Impériale entreprend de fournir trente mille hommes, des quarante qui font jugés néceffaires pour former l’armée de Catalogne, & de payer un million des quatre millions d’écus, qui fuffront, felon le compte que fa Majefté Impériale a fait faire, pour tous les frais de cette guerre.

“ En conformité à cette réponfe on a déjà donné part à la Chambre de l’offre fufdit; & l’on doit eférer que l’effet de cette communication s’enfuivra en peu de jours. Sa Majefté

find that he had better have taken your word, and that you know more of Britain and of your Mistress than those who advised him,

se croit pourtant obligée de remarquer, que jusques-ici elle ne voit pas que les Etats-Généraux entrent dans aucun concert pour leur quote part de cette dépense, ou prennent aucunes mesures pour faire un plus grand effort qu'ils n'ont fait jusques-ici en Catalogne, quoique la Reine ait déclaré depuis plusieurs mois, qu'elle prétendoit que le plan de cette guerre se feroit de concert avec ses alliés, & que les Etats-Généraux entroient pour leur quote part dans toutes les dépenses nécessaires, La Reine avoit cru que les représentations de sa Majesté Impériale auroient été d'un assez grand poids auprès des Etats-Généraux principalement dans la conjoncture présente, pour les porter à prendre la résolution de faire une chose si juste & si essentielle à la continuation de la guerre. La Reine espère qu'on ne s'excusera plus, en Hollande ni ailleurs, d'entrer dans des dépenses auxquelles on n'est pas engagé par des traités, puisqu'il est notoire à tout le monde que sa Majesté n'a été sous aucune obligation, que celle que lui imposoient sa générosité & son zèle pour la cause commune, de contribuer le plus grande partie de ces sommes immenses qu'elle a fournies pendant tant d'années au soutien de la guerre.

"C'est avec beaucoup de satisfaction que sa Majesté entend l'heureux succès des armes des alliés en Espagne communiqué dans le Mémoire du Prince Eugene du 2^{me} Février, V.S. (3^{me} Mars, N.S.); la Reine ne doute point que l'arrivée en Italie des recrues pour l'armée d'Espagne, que la marche du corps de 23,780 hommes, & que la vigueur que sa Majesté Impériale fait paroître dans tous ses préparatifs pour l'ouverture de la campagne, ne fassent songer sérieusement aux ennemis qu'il est tems de faire la paix & ne contribuent par conséquent à procurer une heureuse fin à la présente négociation.

"Sur l'état des affaires en Espagne, & particulièrement sur le sujet de l'ordre que le Duc d'Argyle, selon les avis mentionnés par le Prince Eugene dans son Mémoire du 2^{me} Février, V.S. (5^{me} Mars, N.S.) a donné au payeur de la Reine, il est impossible de répondre avec fondement jusques à l'arrivée du dit Duc d'Argyle, qui vient rendre compte à la Reine de l'état de tout ce qui regarde la guerre d'Espagne, & qui est attendu au premier moment.

"Fait à Whitehall, ce 29^{me} Fév. 1711-12.

"H. St. JEAN."

The House of Commons will, next week, have laid before them a deduction of the state of the war, from the beginning of it to the present year. Upon this we intend to go into a committee of the whole House, upon the state of the nation. I leave your Lordship to judge what resolutions may be expected from those debates, where the Court will be at the head of the country interest, and where such scandalous impositions upon the nation will be brought to light.

It is not hard to see that such a measure will give spirit to the enemy, and put our allies, in the demands which they have to make, under some disadvantage. But whose door is the blame to be laid at? if, in defiance to the Queen, they have joined with a faction; if they have refused even to treat of peace; and if they have endeavoured to force us to continue, like a subject province, a scheme of war, destructive and ruinous to the kingdom, let them answer to the consequence of what necessity, not choice, obliges us to.

The Duke of Marlborough's friends may be as industrious as they please on your side

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of

of the water, and on ours too, but he has sunk himself beyond redemption; and although our people have too much sense to give into a parliamentary prosecution of him, yet he will be rendered accountable for great sums, and be left to the Queen's mercy.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 27th, 1711.

THE messenger is just going, and I intend, by Barlow, to write very fully to Lord Privy Seal and yourself, on some matters which are not very proper for the public dispatch; but, however, will now mention to your Lordship, that I find by a letter which Monsieur de Torcy has writ to me, as well as by one which he writ to my Lord Treasurer, that the backwardness of the allies, and the appearances of some things here, give the Court of France apprehensions lest the negociations should break, which they think it is not their interest that it should; and I am sure it is not ours. They desire
that

that your Lordship and your colleague may have directions underhand, to concert freely with their Ministers.

On this occasion, I should advertise you, if I have not already done it, that d'Huxelles and Mesnager had much rather that this negotiation should have been in the hands of the States, than of the Queen, but Polignac, who is entirely in Monsieur de Torcy's interest and confidence, is of another kidney.

What passed on Thursday, in the House of Commons, will, I hope, show people abroad, as well as at home, that no merit, no grandeur, no riches, can excuse or save any one, who sets himself up in opposition to the Queen. The whole debate was so managed, as to show evidently to what the Duke was to ascribe his fall.

The state of the war will be considered next week, in the House of Commons.

I am sorry the Dutch are not likely to find, until they have suffered by the contrary opinion, that the Queen has more interest in Britain than the junto.

Adieu, my dear Lord, &c.

I desire to assure my Lord Privy Seal, of my most humble service, and will not fail to write by Barlow to him.

M 4

De

De Monsieur le Baron de Bothmar.*

MONSIEUR,

JE viens d'apprendre que le traité conclu
entre la Reine & les Etats-Généraux des
Provinces

* La réponse donnée de la part de son Altesse Electorale de Brunswick-Lunébourg, à Monsieur le Comte de Rivers, à Gôhrde, 7me Novembre, 1711.

" Son Altesse Electorale reçoit avec une extrême reconnaissance, la confiance que sa Majesté a la bonté de lui faire, de ce qui s'est passé par rapport à la grande affaire de la paix générale.

" Elle n'est pas moins sensible à la communication qu'elle a bien voulu lui faire, des instructions du Comte de Strafford, lesquelles seront menagées comme on le desire.

" Son Altesse Electorale a encore une nouvelle obligation à sa Majesté, de ce qu'elle a bien voulu lui faire ces communications par une personne de la qualité & du mérite du Comte de Rivers, qui a toujours été ami particulier de sa maison. C'est avec une extrême satisfaction que son Altesse Electorale, remarque dans les instructions du Comte de Strafford, que l'intention de sa Majesté est, de ne rien faire par rapport à la paix générale, que conjointement & de concert avec les Etats-Généraux; sa Majesté insistant dans les dites instructions sur l'absolue nécessité qu'il y a d'entretenir une bonne harmonie entre les deux nations, d'où dépend en grande partie, leur mutuelle sûreté & la balance de l'Europe.

" La présente guerre a fait voir ce que peuvent les deux nations, quand elles sont bien unies; mais les efforts de la nation Britannique dans cette guerre ont été si grands, & son rôle a été si beau & si noble, en un mot si digne de la nation & de la grande Reine (1) qui la gouverne, qu'il n'y a aucun sujet de douter, qu'au traité futur de la paix, tous les Alliés ne concourent unanimement à obtenir pour la Grande Bretagne les conditions & les avantages qu'elle pourra prétendre de la France; & il paroît que ce moyen est plus solide & plus sûr pour parvenir à ce but, que si on y travailloit par une négoc-

(1) This word not in the copy given in by Monsieur Bothmar.—
BOLINGBROKE.

ciation.

Provinces Unies, pour la barrière de ceux-ci aux Pays-Bas Espagnols a été mis aujourd'hui devant la Chambre des Communes.

L'Electeur

ciation séparée qui pourroit laisser aux autres alliés quelque sujet de défiance.

“ Il est certain que l'intérêt commun des alliés demande, qu'ils soyent aussi unis au traité futur de la paix, qu'ils l'ont été pendant la guerre, puisque c'est l'unique moyen de se garantir des intrigues, dont la France a accoutumé de se servir si utilement dans ces sortes d'assemblées, pour mettre la division parmi les alliés, & que toute la sûreté de ceux-ci pour l'avenir dépend de la garantie mutuelle qu'ils se donneront de ce qui aura été réglé par le dit traité:

“ Pour ce qui est du lieu d'assemblée, on a sujet d'être surpris que dans l'état triomphant où sont les affaires des alliés, le Roi de France prétend le leur prescrire, & qu'il commence à cet égard à parler en maître; son Altesse Electorale ne doute point, que la Reine ne désapprouve ce procédé hautain, & qu'elle ne reconnoisse qu'il est juste de convenir avec les alliés du lieu où la paix se devra traiter.

“ A l'égard des avis qu'on a eu, que la cour Impériale voudroit commencer avec la France une négociation secrète, au préjudice des intérêts de la Grande Bretagne, son Altesse Electorale prend la liberté d'assurer la Reine que cette cour-là n'a pas une telle pensée, les circonstances où elle se trouve, & les restitutions qu'elle prétend de la France, étant telles, qu'il n'est pas possible que la dite cour se sépare du reste des alliés, & moins encore de la Reine que d'aucun autre, on peut s'attendre, au contraire, que le nouvel Empereur fera contre l'ennemi commun de beaucoup plus grands efforts qu'on n'a fait ci-devant. My Lord Rivers est prié de remercier très humblement sa Majesté, du soin qu'elle a eu la bonté de prendre des intérêts de la Maison Electorale dans le premier article des préliminaires proposés par la France, & de ce qu'elle veut bien aussi procurer à son Altesse Electorale de la part de cette Couronne, la récoognition de son Electorat (2), sur quoi son Altesse Electorale souhaite que les ministres de sa Majesté (lorsqu'il sera question de régler ce dernier article) prennent soin d'omettre le mot de *neuvième*, puisque cela feroit tort à son rang, son Electorat n'étant plus le neuvième; de sorte que la

(2) The Imperial College acknowledged the Electorate in 1703.

Reine

L'Electeur mon maître considérant que celui qui prétend lui disputer le droit qui lui a été donné, & à sa sérénissime famille, en la personne de Madame l'Electrice sa mère, de succéder à la couronne de la Grande Bretagne au défaut des enfans de la Reine, jouit d'un appui étranger aussi puissant que celui du Roi de France, ne sauroit regarder qu'avec une extrême reconnoissance, une marque aussi réelle que celui que sa Majesté a bien voulu donner de l'honneur de son amitié pour lui

Reine est priée de faire stipuler que la France reconnoisse l'Electorat de son Altesse Electorale de Brunsvic, avec toutes les dignités, offices, & prérogatives, qui y sont annexées.

“ A l'égard de ce qui s'est passé en Ecosse, touchant la médaille du Prétendant, son Altesse Electorale se remet à la prudence de la Reine, sur ce qu'il y aura à faire pour prévenir les suites & l'exemple d'une affaire qui a été si publique.

“ Son Altesse Electorale est fort obligée à la Reine des démarches qu'elle a bien voulu faire auprès du Roi de Danemarck, pour le détourner du dessein d'envoyer des troupes dans le pais de Brémen, & elle prie sa Majesté de vouloir continuer ses soins à cet égard, lorsque la conjoncture paroîtra le demander; son Altesse Electorale est fort sensible à la bonté avec laquelle la Reine a donné les mains au retour de quelques-uns de ses régi-mens dans ses états pendant cet hiver. Elle n'en fera venir que le moins qu'il sera possible, pour ne pas abuser à cet égard des bontés de sa Majesté: et elle les renverra au plutôt, comprenant bien l'importance dont il est, que l'armée soit prête de bonne heure à entrer en campagne. Son Altesse Electorale ordonne au Baron de Bothmar de retourner en diligence à la cour de la Reine: elle espère que sa Majesté, & ses ministres voudront bien l'écouter favorablement, son voyage & ses instructions n'ayant pour but, que de faire voir de plus à la Reine, combien elle a de vénération pour sa personne, & de reconnoissance pour ses bontés.

“ Fait au Gœhrde; 7me Novembre, 1711.”

& pour

& pour sa sérénissime famille, par le soin qu'elle a prise de stipuler, par le susdit traité, la garantie des Etats-Généraux de la succession Protestante, pour l'assurer d'autant plus fortement de ce droit, contre ceux qui voudroient s'y opposer.

Comme je vous connois, Monsieur, aussi zélé pour ce droit qu'affectionné à son Altesse Electorale, je prends la liberté de m'adresser à vous, pour vous prier de dériger les choses d'une manière que la garantie stipulée dans ce traité de barrière en faveur de la succession Protestante ne souffre aucune atteinte par sa dite communication au Parlement*.

J'aurai l'honneur de vous en parler de bouche, lorsque vos autres occupations vous permettront de m'accorder un moment pour cela.—Je suis, avec beaucoup de respect,

Monsieur, votre très humble, &c.

Arlington Street,
29me Janvier, 1711-12.

Le B. de BOTHMAR.

* It is difficult to account for this expression of Bothmar. As Envoy of that Prince who was to succeed to the throne of Britain, he must be supposed to have studied the nature of our constitution; and we are unwilling to imagine that he meant to insult the Queen and her Ministry.

Monsieur

A Monsieur le Baron du Botbmar.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 2me Février, 1711-12.

COMME la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 29me du mois passé roule sur un sujet aussi important que celui de la succession de la Sérénissime Maison d'Hanovre, j'ai cru qu'il étoit de mon devoir d'en donner communication à la Reine, c'est ce que je viens de faire, & c'est par son ordre que je vous envoie la réponse suivante.

La recherche de tout ce qui a été ou peut devenir préjudiciable à l'intérêt de la nation, est un privilège de la Chambre des Communes, tellement reconnu que les Souverains mêmes ne prétendent pas empêcher de telles perquisitions; c'est pourquoi, Monsieur, vous me permettrez de vous dire qu'il est nécessaire que vous ne vous commettiez pas légèrement dans une affaire si délicate, & principalement lorsque vous ne pouvez pas avoir des ordres précis & particuliers de son Altesse Electorale votre maître.

Vous me faites beaucoup de justice en me regardant comme un homme affectionné à son Altesse Electorale, & zélé pour son droit ;

droit ; mais vous me faites trop d'honneur quand vous me croyez capable de diriger les choses d'une manière ou d'autre dans la Chambre des Communes. Le seul moyen dont je pourrois me servir pour cet effet, seroit de leur communiquer la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire, & c'est ce que je ferai si vous le souhaitez de moi.

Je dois ajouter que les bonnes inclinations de la Reine, de son Parlement, & du peuple en général, forment la meilleure garantie pour assurer la succession Protestante, & après toutes les preuves qui ont été données, tant par sa Majesté que par les deux Chambres, de leurs intentions sincères de soutenir le droit de la sérénissime famille, il semble un peu étrange que l'examen du Traité de Barrière, qui touche de si près à une branche des plus considérables de notre commerce, puisse donner de la jalousie.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, February 6th, 1711-12.

HAVING no public business to write to you upon, I take this opportunity of returning you my humble thanks for the private letter which you did me the honour to write me. I have spoke to Mr. Breton about the proposition of taking Mr. Caesar as his chaplain to Berlin, to which he is enough inclined; but, as he tells me, this gentleman is willing to go only for six months in the whole, and expects 150*l.* for his service.

Mr. Harley * is directed by the Queen to stop at Utrecht for some days. He will by word of mouth explain more fully to your Lordship than it is fit, or indeed possible, to do by letter, the present situation of our home affairs, and inform you of her Majesty's sentiments concerning the steps which my Lord Strafford and your Lordship are now to take in order to move those waters, which the influence of the Dutch and German councils endeavour to stagnate.

* Thomas Harley, first Cousin and Secretary to Lord Oxford.

I believe

I believe I told your Lordship or the Earl of Strafford, once before, that Monsieur de Polignac is really most in the secret of his Court; though great care is taken to hide any appearance of this distinction on the Marechal's* account.

We are under great impatience to hear by your next letters, what effect the last which you received from this side have had.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, February 6th, 1711-12.

I HAVE no matter to trouble you upon by this post in an office-letter; the several points which I thought to have spoke to, and concerning which I gave you expectation of her Majesty's instructions, Mr. Harley will much better open and confer with your Lordship and my Lord; Privy Seal upon, when he passes through Utrecht, which the Queen has directed him to do; and he will, with Sir James Wishart, set out from hence on Friday next.

* D'Uxelles.

Your

Your Lordship will receive, with these letters, some of the proceedings of the House of Commons relating to the state of the war, which has been laid before them in all its parts*. These are the effects of the perverseness of our friends, the Dutch. Would they have been persuaded that we were determined to have a reasonable peace, or a practicable war for Britain, had they not suffered themselves to be flattered by the faction, that those who had been dupes, should continue such to the end of the chapter, we might have avoided showing to the enemy our nakedness.

To-morrow we go into a Committee of the whole House; on Friday the last resolutions will be reported, and some others taken, which are to contain the use which the House proposes to have made of the precedent enquiry; the whole will go by a representation to the Queen.

I thought it might be of use, or at least of entertainment to your Lordship, and have therefore sent you a copy of a letter which

* This statement shows evidently that Britain contributed her due proportion, and that the rest of the allies had been more or less deficient.

Bothmar

Bothmar took a fancy to write me the other day, together with one of the answer which I gave him. Surely there never was a more unhappy measure than that which the Court of Hanover has been induced to take; the best friends of that family are so far from excusing this conduct to others, that they are alarmed at it themselves.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Watkins.

SIR,

Whitehall, February 7th, 1711-12.

THE person who gives you this letter goes by the name of Mezière†. He will be some time at Utrecht; and whilst he is there, the Count Maffei will own and protect him. He may very probably arrive at the knowledge of facts and circumstances, which will be of use to you and to her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries. When he writes to me, I have ordered him to put the letter into your hands.

You will please not to take any public no-

† This probably is the veteran mentioned in the last letter to Watkins.

tice of him, and to use him kindly when he waits upon you in private.

I am, &c.

To the Lords Privy Seal and Strafford.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, February 16th, 1711.

THOUGH I have a great deal more to say, in order to explain clearly to your Lordships the present situation of the Queen's domestic affairs, and the measures which she proposes your Lordships should pursue towards effecting your great work, under all the difficulties that are thrown in the way, than can be contained in the compass of a reasonable letter; yet I should, by this messenger, have entered into all that detail, had not the resolution been taken of finally instructing Mr. Harley on Monday, in the view of dispatching him on Tuesday.

It were to be wished that this gentleman could have been sooner sent both to Utrecht and to Hanover; but the hurry which we have been for some time in, is inexpressible, and he was too useful to be spared till the House of Commons was perfectly secured to

to the Queen's interest, and to the measures of peace. I think I may say that they are absolutely so now; and that, provided the French will concert a scheme which is reasonable in itself, and what her Majesty, after a successful war, can justify with honour the acceptance of, there is no room to doubt but your Lordship's services will meet with the applause of your country; and any sanction will be given to all our proceedings which shall be thought proper.

The French will see that there is a possibility of reviving the love of war in our people, by the indignation which has been expressed at the plan given in at Utrecht. Their excuse for making it so scanty is, that the allies chicaned with them, and *agissent dans un esprit de négociation*, to use the very words of a letter of the Abbé de Polignac, which I have seen; now, if they will try the other method, they certainly may get the better of these allies, and by the weight of Britain, constrain them to submit to equal terms of peace. Your Lordships will have this matter fully opened to you by Mr. Harley; and, in the mean time, the Queen thinks proper that your Lordships should

let the French Ministers know, that the whole event turns upon their manner of proceeding; her Majesty has gone farther than could be expected from her in promoting a peace; if they will now offer fairly, it must be made in spite of all the artifices employed to elude it. This you will please privately to throw out to them, and to add, that you expect in a day or two, farther instructions upon this head.

I hope my Lord Privy Seal is perfectly recovered, and am,

My Lords, &c,

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, February 19, 1711-12.

YOU wonder, with reason, at Bothmar's folly; I am sorry to tell you that his master seems very much dipped in the same sentiments, and that the Queen, but two days ago, received a letter from him, in answer to her circular of invitation, wherein he gives a kind of sanction to all the impertinence which his Envoy has committed, and is ready to be guilty of.

5

The

The minutes of the Queen's directions, which are given to Mr. Harley*, to help his

* "*Instructions to Mr. Harley.*

" AT THE HAGUE.

" Show the Pensionary, that nothing has happened here which has not been long ago foretold to him, and to the other Ministers of the States.

" Mention Bothmar, Gallas, and Buys.

" Say to him, that if even now the States-General will enter into a close union with the Queen, explain the treaty of barrier, in such a manner as to secure Britain from the ill consequences apprehended from it, and to go hand in hand with us in the conferences at Utrecht, we may obtain for the whole alliance a safe and advantageous peace; but that if this measure is not taken by them, the Queen must save her own country, and join with such of the allies as will join with her.

" With regard to the war, say, that the conduct of the allies; and their opposition to the Queen, as well by private intrigues carried on among her own subjects, as by open remonstrances, have naturally made the House of Commons take the matter out of the hands of the Ministers; and therefore, that he (the Pensionary) must for the future, reckon upon the Queen's part of the war no otherwise than according to what the House of Commons has done, and is likely to do.

" Touch the business of the barrier very slightly, and avoid entering into any detail upon that subject, unless the Pensionary himself should give occasion for it. In this case, speak in the same style and the same effect as Secretary St. John has writ to the Earl of Strafford; and as the House of Commons shall have voted, if their resolutions come in time to your hands.

" If in discoursing with the Pensionary, you shall find the same inclinations still in him, as have hitherto discovered themselves in all the Ministers of the States-General, you shall let him understand, that in case the present treaty is broken off, the Queen will think it reasonable to insist that some cautionary places be put into her hands, as pledges that no other negotiation shall be renewed by the States-General, without her Majesty's participation.

" AT UTRECHT.

" Confer with the Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Strafford; acquaint them how uneasy the French grow at the dilatory methods of proceeding, and how impossible they judge it

his memory in opening her views to your Lordships and my Lord Privy Seal, will
show

it will be to bring this treaty to a timely and good issue, unless some new measure be taken to carry the same forward. That **Monsieur de Torcy** represents the only way of effecting this to be, the establishment of a private, but entire correspondence betwixt the Plenipotentiaries of the Queen and of his master. That in this case the French will open themselves, and go as far as possible in concerting such a plan as may be reasonable for the settlement of Europe.

“ Upon this overture, acquaint the Queen’s Ministers, that they are to find some way of insinuating privately to the **Abbé de Polignac**, that her Majesty has gone greater lengths, all the circumstances of her affairs considered, than could have been expected from her, in advancing the peace; that the whole event now turns upon the reasonableness of the propositions which France has to offer; that they have received orders to speak confidently with him upon that head, to concert with him what ought justly to satisfy the several allies, and to do their utmost to have it received. Let them insinuate to this abbot, and to the other French Ministers, that the parliament and the nation are now brought to a temper of sincerely desiring peace; that this good disposition is principally owing to an opinion that the Queen has certain assurances that France will give just satisfaction to all the allies; that if in this opinion our people should be unfortunately disappointed, there is reason to fear that they may return to the same eagerness for the prosecution of the war as they have formerly showed.

“ **AT HANOVER.**

“ After having delivered the Queen’s letters, and made the usual compliments upon that occasion, take the first proper opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private. Begin where the Earl Rivers left off; and insinuate to him, that though her Majesty has thought herself justly provoked by the conduct of his Minister here, yet such is her affection to the Elector, and such her concern for the interests of his family, that, instead of giving the least mark of resentment, she has chose to send you to him, fully instructed to open her designs, and to show him the real interest of Britain, in the present conjuncture. Proceed to give him a true account of what has passed here, expose to him the weakness of those with whom his minister consults, and under whose direction he acts. Show him how much weaker this faction must still be-

show you that we apprehend very clearly the situation which you are in; and I hope that the management which you will have with the French, may produce such a scheme as we shall be able to make the Queen and Parliament declare for, after which I concern myself very little what our good friends the Imperialists and Hollanders take.

Mr. Harley is so fully in the secret, that what he says will be ten times more distinct than any thing I can write, and your Lordships will both please to regard what he shall have the honour to say to you, as much as if I had that of writing it.

I am apt to believe, that I might on this occasion have been sent directly to France,

come when a peace is concluded, and when the natural strength of the nation, disencumbered from the burden of the war, shall be at liberty to exert itself. Convince him that his interest in the succession is sacrificed to that of a party; that he has hitherto been the friend of both sides; that these measures tend to set him at the head of one in opposition to the other; make him observe the difference between this and his former conduct.

“ If these representations find due ingress, endeavour to make his Electoral Highness sensible that the part which Mr. Bothmar has acted, renders it impossible for him to have any share of the Queen’s confidence, or to live in friendship with above one set of people.

“ When you go from Utrecht to Hanover, you are to take along with you one of the Queen’s Messengers, whom you will find attending the Plenipotentiaries: and as soon as you can make any judgment of the success of your journey, you are to send this messenger home with your letters, and not to trust them to the post.”

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had not the Queen's affairs been thought to want me here ; such a commission would be attended with some risk, but I confess I should have undertaken it with pleasure. Gaultier is to go ; he takes with him a letter which the Queen has written, in answer to one she received lately from the King of France ; he will be instructed to speak to Monsieur de Torcy our sense, as you will hear it from Mr. Harley, and afterwards he will proceed, I believe, to Utrecht, where at least he will, in these respects, be of use ; that he has, from first to last, been in the whole secret of every transaction relating to the peace ; and that his own fortune cannot fail of being made if the present treaty succeeds.

I am endeavouring to turn matters so as to remove Mr. Watkins, and to place Mr. Harrison where your Lordship is so good as to consent that he should be : by the next post I hope to speak with certainty upon this head.

The case of Brigadier Walef is very hard ; the Queen thought so, and, by my Lord Orrery, interested herself extremely for him. She had at that time the mortification to find
little

little regard paid to her representations by the Dutch, and would not willingly expose herself to a second refusal; but I am empowered to say, that if your Lordship can by any means obtain for him the justice which he asks, it will be very grateful to her Majesty. After this, it would be impertinent to add that I should look upon the favour as done to myself.

I have seen lately some instances of Mr. Westcombe's zeal for the Queen's service, and I shall very readily serve him in the affair which your Lordship mentions.

As to your purchase of Lord Portland's troop, I will not be unmindful, but I shall be of opinion, that you deserve as well as he that his price should be beat down lower.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, February 23, 1711-12.

I SEND you inclosed the additional minutes of instruction *, on which you are to

* "*Additional Instructions to Mr. Harley, at Utrecht.*

"My Lords the Queen's Plenipotentiaries may compound with the Dutch upon the Barrier Treaty, in the following manner :

"That

to confer with the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, together with some other papers.

"That they keep no garrison in Nieuport, in the time of peace; that the castle of Ghent, and the town of Dendermonde, remain in their hands; but, in this case, besides the securities for the British trade, mentioned in the project of emendations to the barrier treaty, the Queen thinks it reasonable to demand that Ostend be given up to her Majesty as a cautionary town.

"My Lords the Plenipotentiaries seem, in some of their letters, to think that the reason why the States-General are so tenacious of that part of the 15th article of the barrier treaty, which stipulates the equality of trade, is, because they imagine that France has yielded to the Queen, besides the *affiento*, many other great advantages in commerce: her Majesty therefore, that she may go as far as possible in quieting the minds of the Dutch, and that she may leave them without any colour of excuse, if they persist in their opposition to her, allows my Lords to make this open and fair declaration to them: that she will insist to have the *affiento* granted to her subjects, and to keep Port Mahon and Gibraltar. That from these three points, no extremity shall ever oblige her to depart; and that, provided the States-General will agree with her upon these heads, her Majesty does then promise that she will join with them in reducing the trade to Spain, and to all the Spanish dominions both in Europe and elsewhere, in every other respect, to the conditions under which it was carried on before the death of King Charles the Second.

"In order to prevent the ill consequences which must attend a long negociation, her Majesty would have my Lords the Plenipotentiaries, either by themselves, or by some agent, whose negotiating will be liable to less observation, propose to the French ministers, to concert in confidence with them that plan, upon which, as their ultimatum, they may be willing to conclude the peace. It is thought that the pretence of settling the British interests in commerce, will give my Lords the Plenipotentiaries a very natural opportunity of conferring with those of France. My Lords may let them understand, that this proposition is at least as advantageous to their Master, as to the Queen; since although this scheme, when it is formed, may not answer all the ambitious views which some members of the grand alliance have, nor come up to the affected demands which will be made, purely to render the treaty

papers. I now know of nothing which you can be in want of from me, except a letter from

treaty impracticable : yet if it amount to a real security, and a reasonable satisfaction for the several Princes and States engaged with us, if it be what her Majesty ought to expect, and can justify, the Queen will declare for peace upon the terms of it, and there is no reason to doubt but the greatest part of the confederates will do the same.

“ The following articles contain her Majesty’s sense on the principal points of the scheme of peace :

“ The enemy seems to grant the Dutch what they ask for their trade, with a reservation of six Species in the Tarif of 1664. It is to be endeavoured that this Tarif may be obtained for Holland without any exception. But if it cannot be obtained, my Lords are without breaking to proceed to the barrier, and in that case, only to press that the French should name what those Species are which they design to reserve out of the Tarif.

“ It is to be observed, that the French aim at two equivalents, one for Dunkirk, and another for those places which they yield, in order to compose the barrier. My Lords are to avoid this distinction, and to treat for the equivalent in the lump; Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, Bouchain, Douay, her Majesty thinks, might be restored to France. If the enemy insist on Lisle and Tournay, the Queen will rather depart from the former than the latter.

“ It has been insinuated here, that to preserve Tournay as well as Lisle, the French would go very far in other concessions.

“ The two articles in the general instructions concerning Strasburgh and Brisac, are to be insisted upon.

“ As to the two articles which relate to the government of Alsace, pursuant to the literal sense of the treaty of Westphalia, and to the fortifications of the ten Imperial cities, these are to be brought as near as may be to the taste of the Dutch, and of our German allies, but my Lords are to avoid breaking upon that. The reddition of Landau, as it is expressed in the general instructions, to be insisted upon.

“ In the article for the demolition, pursuant to the treaty of Westphalia, of the fortresses between Basle and Philipsburg, the same rule is to be observed, as in the article relating to Alsace, and the ten Imperial cities.

“ The Queen’s obligation by treaty, as well as by the rules
of

from the Queen to the Electoral Princefs,
Her Majesty is now writing of it, and as
foon

of good policy, require that the barrier of the Portuguese be secured; their interests in the West-Indies, are to be taken care of likewise, and it is hoped the French will not be over difficult upon this head.

"As to the Duke of Savoy, it is certain that the French are inclined to give him satisfaction, and the Queen must therefore not lose any part of the merit of procuring it for him. My Lords are pursuant to the several instructions which they have received, to confer confidently with his Ministers, to take all opportunities of promoting his interests, and to insist, with the greatest firmness, on every article of his barrier. As to his aggrandizement, let his Ministers, as well as those of France, feel that her Majesty cannot directly or formally stipulate any thing, but will be willing to connive.

"As to the immediate retreat of the Pretender out of the dominions of France, my Lords must let the French Ministers know that the Queen expects it, and that it will extremely contribute to the ease of her measures at home.

"Her Majesty supposes there will be no difficulty, on the part of the confederates, in admitting the late Elector of Bavaria to be restored to a ninth electorate, and to those countries which he was in possession of before the war, except such parts thereof as have been dismembered in favour of the Elector Palatine.

"Cologne, the Queen takes for granted, it will likewise be restored; and she thinks these two brothers, who, in the beginning of the war, did so much mischief, and put us into so great danger, and whose countries have, since that time, been conquered by the confederates, will, by this scheme, become greater gainers at the peace than they had reason to expect to be.

"Naples, Sicily, and the other islands in the Mediterranean, except Minorca, the possession of which must remain to the Queen, should go to the House of Austria; but her Majesty wishes, that, in penning this article, the word unalienably might be inserted, or some other general expression used, to hinder a cession of any port in those parts to the Dutch, which our having of Port Mahon may prompt them to think of, and which, in this honey-moon of affection, the Imperialists are likely enough to grant. The places on the Tuscan coast should go with Naples, Sicily, and the Islands.

"An

soon as it is ready I will not fail to send it after you ; you give me leave to add, that,
according

“ An expedient, on that article, by virtue of which the most effectual measures are to be taken to prevent the union of the two crowns of France and Spain, will prove a point of the greatest difficulty, and it is of the utmost consequence. None can be offered which will not be liable to several objections ; but, besides that mentioned in the last dispatch from my Lords Plenipotentiaries of the 26th February, her Majesty thinks that it might be proposed that the entail of the Spanish crown should be expressly settled in the treaty, that the case of Philip or his children coming to have a right to the crown of France, should be declared to be, in all respects, the same as the case of the extinction of that branch ; that the next successor in either of these cases, should be named in the treaty. That, if it is practicable, the states of Spain themselves may be made parties to this agreement.”

“ *Additional Minutes of Instruction for Mr. Harley, at Utrecht.*

“ Besides the points already mentioned, it has been thought proper to add these which follow : upon the news of the death of the Dauphin, and the nearer approach of that case, where the same person may have a title to the two crowns of France and Spain : that the entail of the crown of France be settled, after the present Dauphin and his children, on the Duke of Orleans and his children, and so on to the rest of the family of Bourbon, exclusive of Philip and his issue.

“ That Philip make a formal renunciation for himself, and for his issue, of all right to the crown of France ; and that the cortes, or the states of Spain, may be, some way or other, as shall be found most practicable, made parties to the exclusion of the rest of the House of Bourbon, and to the farther settlement of the crown of Spain, in such other family as shall be agreed upon.

“ The Queen's inclination would carry her to prefer the House of Savoy, in this case, to any other ; but this specific declaration is not to be made without caution, and a reasonable assurance of success.

“ These conditions occur at present ; if any thing else can be hereafter thought of, no doubt ought to be made but it will be agreed upon, since Monsieur de Torcy so often repeats his master's opinion concerning the absolute necessity of preventing the union of the two monarchies, which he judges
would

according to my weak judgment, the success of your journey to Utrecht, depends entirely on your speedy arrival there.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

P.S. The first paper of minutes I put into your hands at my Lord Treasurer's, and therefore send you no duplicate.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitchall, Feb. 23d, 1711-12.

HAVING now entirely finished Mr. Harley's dispatches, as I could have done some days ago, had it been to any purpose, I hope no farther time will be lost in his setting forward; and I conclude my part of the work by writing this letter to your Lordships, which my indisposition obliges me to do by another hand than my own.

It is so very apparent from the conduct of

would be prejudicial to both, as well as dangerous to the rest of Europe.

"Particular care is, in all events, to be taken of the Catalans, Arragonians, Valencians, and of whoever else has declared on our side, in Spain, during the war; this article is just in itself, extremely honourable for the Queen to insist upon, and cannot well admit of much difficulty on the part of the French."

the

the Imperialists and of the Dutch, that they will venture all to break this negociation, and to force from the Queen the benefit which she expects by it, that her Majesty has taken the resolution of doing what can alone extricate her out of this great emergency. She sends Mr. Harley to your Lordships fully informed of the circumstances of our domestic affairs, and fully instructed in her Majesty's sense how far the enemy must comply, in order to form such a general plan of peace as the Queen will approve, and as we can obtain the concurrence of both Houses to.

By the lights which your Lordships will better receive from his mouth, than you can from my letter, you will please to confer with the Ministers of France, letting them know, that if they will agree on a reasonable scheme for it, they have it now in their power at once to finish the general peace. All things are so well disposed here, that, let the next offer which they shall make meet with what reception it will in the Congress, Britain will declare for it, provided it amounts to what in prudence and honour we can justify.

The

The Queen supposes, that the answer which the French Ministers are to make to the demands of the allies, presented I suppose this very day, will be the result of their conferences with your Lordships. In this case, her Majesty thinks it will be expedient to have such a day appointed for the delivery of the French answer (if possible) as to allow time to your Lordships to receive her Majesty's opinion and farther orders upon it.

I pray God the French may not upon this occasion act *dans un esprit de négociation*, which they have blamed in others; if they prove as reasonable in generals, as they have been in particulars, her Majesty will lay the project of peace before both Houses of Parliament, and we shall have one debate for the whole; the conclusion of which, in this case, will infallibly be, advice to her Majesty to make the peace. Thus, my Lords, would our great work be accomplished with honour to our Mistress, with safety to ourselves, with entire satisfaction to most of our allies, and with reasonable satisfaction to all of them.

I cannot help thinking that the Queen
might

might have contributed extremely to smoothen your way at Utrecht, if she had, in this critical point of time, sent some man to the Court of France, who might have been thought in the full secret of his own; I offered the Queen to go, but I believe the measure is thought a little too bold, and instead thereof the Sieur Gaultier will be sent from hence to Monsieur de Torcy, and from him to Utrecht. I shall add no more; but the contents of this letter show it is not designed as a public dispatch, but as a private instruction to your Lordships.

I am, &c.

A Monsieur de Cambiague.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 29 Février, V.S. 1711-12.

JE vous prie d'être persuadé que Monsieur de St. Jean, & le Secrétaire d'Etat de ce nom, ne sont qu'une même personne; vous avez vu par ma conduite, il y a quatre ans, que les grandes charges ne me tiennent fort au cœur, ne croyez donc pas qu'elles soient capables de me faire changer des sentimens à l'égard de mes amis.

VOL. II.

O

J'ai

J'ai entendu beaucoup de bien de Monsieur Forrester, mais il suffit que vous le recommandez, pour que je tâche de lui être utile.

Mon frère s'est trouvé, hereusement pour lui, chez un de mes amis à Amsterdam, lorsqu'il est tombé malade de la petite vérole. Il est présentement à Utrecht, où pourvu qu'il fasse un bon usage de la situation avantageuse dans laquelle il se trouve, il pourra faire du progrès dans la connoissance des affaires publiques, & se rendre de bonne heure utile à sa patrie. La paix, parmi plusieurs autres avantages qu'elle nous apporte ; ne pourra pas manquer de faire hausser les actions de tous les fonds. Je suis fort aise que vous vous trouvez engagé dans la compagnie de la Mer du Sud, & je ne doute nullement que vous ne fassiez un gain très considérable sur vos débentures.

Le pauvre Monsieur Calandrini est encore à Paris, à ce que je vois, sollicitant le paiement de ce qui lui est dû. J'ai déjà fait, & je continuerai à faire des instances pour lui, auprès les Ministres François. Je me flatte même qu'il y en a quelques-uns qui seront
portés

portés à lui rendre service. On ne peut pas être avec une plus véritable estime.

Monfieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To Mr. Scott.

SIR,

Whitehall, Feb. 29th, 1711-12.

I SHOULD, by a private letter, have sooner given you satisfaction as to the contents of your's of the 19th of January last, had my time allowed of it. In other countries, a Secretary of State who dispatches the business of his province, dispatches all that belongs to him; in Britain it is very much otherwise; and creating or keeping together the strength which is to support you, leaves you, during the winter months, very little leisure for the affairs of that employment, in the execution of which you labour to be supported.

Mr. Mackenzie* gave himself, in my opinion, a very ridiculous air, when, immediately after your audience, he asked one of

* The predecessor of Mr. Scott, though not in the office of Minister, but Secretary at the Court of King Augustus.

the King. He could have no business to speak upon, and if he had any, he might, and he ought, to have consulted with you beforehand. I know nothing of the man more than that my Lord Stair left him in those parts; and when I came into the northern business, I found him prying and diligent, which made me willing to leave him the pretence of being her Majesty's Secretary, that I might, when opportunity offered, remove him with that character to some other place. I have her Majesty's leave to send him to Ratisbon; but if he is in any measures with our faction at home, and particularly, if he has correspondence with those who labour the breaking this negotiation off, he must by no means be thought of: I therefore desire you, that you will be very clear and frank upon this head, wherein the Queen's service is materially concerned, and, till I hear from you, I will defer sending him or any one else to Ratisbon.

The measures which have been pursued, are not only right in themselves, but your accounts from hence will have shown you, that the House of Commons have given their sanction to them by carrying on the
5 same.

same. In short, Sir, we will either have this peace, or a proportionable war; you know how impossible the latter is, and you will therefore, I believe, concur with me, that the first ought to follow, and indeed must necessarily do so.

I have this moment received your letters of the 22d and 27th of this month, N.S. which it will not be possible for me to say any thing upon till next post; only this, have no apprehensions of going too far in the affair you write about; there is nothing which the Queen has more at heart, and you can make no step in it, which becomes her minister, in which you need fear a disavowal.

I am, &c.

A Monsieur Mesnager.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 4me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 15me de ce mois, & le Sieur Gaultier n'aura pas manqué de vous informer, que je lui ai fait rendre celle qui lui étoit adressée.

Je me sens fort honoré de l'amitié que

O 3

vous

vous me témoignez ; je vous prie de me la conserver, & d'être persuadé que de mon côté, je tâcherai dans toutes les occasions, de vous montrer qu'on ne peut pas être plus parfaitement que je le suis, Monsieur, &c.

P.S. Le passeport que le Sieur Gaultier m'a demandé de votre part, a été d'abord expédié.

To the Lord Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, March the 4th, 1711-12.

I FIND your Lordships, in the private letter of the 5th of this month, which you honoured me with by Couchman, under some impatience for the arrival of Mr. Harley ; and I am very far from wondering at you for it, since in your present situation you run risk of having the game taken out of your hands by others, and are in no sort able to play it on yourselves.

This evil circumstance will now be very soon cured ; Mr. Harley goes away to-morrow, and your Lordships will be much better informed of the Queen's intentions by

what he will have the honour to say to you, than you could possibly have been by ten reams of written instructions.

Gaultier goes to France to-morrow, and will, I hope, soon arrive at Utrecht, with such orders to the Ministers of France as may enable them to come up, in the project of peace, to what your Lordships will expect. I have given him letters of recommendation to your Lordships; and I hope he will have, as I verily think he will deserve, your countenance.

I received yesterday morning a letter from Monsieur de Torcy, dated on Thursday last, with the news of the death of the third Dauphin, within the year, and with fresh assurances that the King persists in his firm resolution of concurring in effectual measures to prevent the union of the two crowns. Mr. Harley will open the best expedient which the Queen thinks of to your Lordships; I shall only say, the deaths of the father and eldest son, which only leave a child of two years old between Philip and the crown of France, make it absolutely necessary to have this matter settled without loss of time.

The acknowledgment of the Queen must be made with a good grace; and I believe the French, in their next offers, will express themselves as your Lordships shall please to dictate. There is another point which it is now high time to insist upon an immediate compliance with: I mean, the sending the Pretender out of France. Your Lordships know, that in the barrier-treaty there is an article to this purpose; and in some of our debates in Parliament, notice has been taken of it as a neglect, that he was not removed previously to any entrance upon a treaty. Gaultier is instructed to let Monsieur de Torcy know, that the Queen expects no time should be lost herein; and her Majesty thinks it proper that your Lordships should speak to the same effect to the Ministers of France at Utrecht.

I send your Lordships a copy of the representation, delivered this day to her Majesty, by the House of Commons, which being a piece likely to make much noise in the world, and to have great influence on foreign as well as domestic affairs, I thought your Lordships would be curious to see it as soon as possible. The purport of
the

the Queen's answer was, " This representation is another instance of the dutiful affection to my service, and concern for the interest of our country, which this House of Commons has always shown ; I will take care to give such orders as may effectually answer what you desire in every particular."

Her Majesty commands me to let you, my Lord Strafford, know, that she has directed Mr. Harley to make a compliment to the Pensionary, as it has been usual, and that she would have your Lordships take some opportunity of introducing him to this minister ; naturally, he should have passed through the Hague, and have taken that opportunity, but your Lordship not being there, he is ordered to proceed first to Utrecht.

The Cabinet Council, which sits on Thursday, will furnish me with matter for the packet of Friday.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harrison.

SIR,

Whitehall, March 4th, 1711-12.

I WAS extremely pleased to hear that my Lords the Plenipotentiaries were desirous to have you succeed Mr. Watkins, in case of his removal. Nothing could suit my inclination more than this opportunity of advancing you, which they have given me; and I make no doubt but you will go on to preserve, by the same means which you have acquired, their Lordships' good opinion and favour.

I am, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

A Marli, le 31me Janvier, 1712.

JE vois, Monsieur, que la confiance ne s'établit pas aussi intièrement qu'il seroit à desirer entre Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires du Roi & ceux de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, à Utrecht. Comme nous avons tous le même but, de parvenir promptement à la paix, je crois que vous jugerez à propos d'envoyer à Monsieur l'Evêque de Bristol,
& à

& à Monsieur le Comte de Strafford des instructions plus précises, sur la manière dont ils doivent concerter leurs démarches avec les Plénipotentiaires du Roi.

Il est très certain que sa Majesté est très disposée à contribuer de son côté à la prompte conclusion du traité, & lorsque l'Angleterre concourra de sa part, ce sera vainement que les ennemis de la paix s'opposeront au rétablissement de la tranquillité générale.

Je vous supplie de croire que je suis, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

A Versailles, le 8^{me} Février, 1712.

RIEN ne pouvoit me faire plus de plaisir, Monsieur, que de voir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, l'inutilité de toutes les démarches faites pour traverser la paix. Je suis persuadé que le retour de Monsieur le Prince Eugene en Hollande achèvera de désabuser ceux qui espéroient encore que sa présence & sa réputation ébranloient les sages résolutions de la Reine, & l'on

& l'on doit, ce me semble, compter qu'elles auront bientôt un heureux effet, puisque le Roi veut aussi, de sa part, contribuer, de tout son pouvoir, à la conclusion d'un ouvrage aussi nécessaire au bien général de l'Europe.

Je souhaite, Monsieur, que sa perfection me donne plus d'occasions de vous assurer qu'on ne peut être plus véritablement que je suis, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

A Versailles, le 10me Mars, 1712.

DEPUIS, la mort de Monseigneur le Dauphin *, le Prince son fils aîné† vient de mourir, & le seul qui reste aujourd'hui Dauphin n'a que deux ans. Voilà, Monsieur, un nouveau sujet d'alarmes, & un prétexte à ceux qui ne veulent pas la paix, de faire craindre l'union des deux couronnes de France & d'Espagne sur la tête d'un même Prince, le Roi Catholique n'étant précédé que par un enfant.

* The Duke of Burgundy, married to Maria Adelaide of Savoy : she died the 22d, and he the 28th February.

† The Duke of Britany, died the 8th March.

Cette

Cette union feroit cependant, auffi mauvaife pour la France & pour l'Efpagne, que dangereux pour le refte de l'Europe ; ainfi le Roi perfifte conftamment dans la ferme réfolution de prendre toutes les mefures néceffaires pour l'empêcher, & fa Majefté m'a commandé de vous le faire favoir, afin d'en affurer la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

J'efpère, Monfieur, que les malheurs arrivés depuis peu de tems, à la France, n'empêcheront pas un bien fi grand que l'eft celui de la paix, & que vous aurez l'honneur de conduire à fa perfection un ouvrage où vous avez autant de part. Je fuis, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monfieur de Torcy.

De Whitehall, ce 4^{me} Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AUROIS honte, Monfieur, d'avoir différé fi long-tems à répondre à l'honneur de vos lettres, fi je ne croyois pouvoir alléguer en ma juftification une raifon qui eft bonne, & que vous ne défapprouverez pas.

En un mot, j'ai voulu vous écrire avec certitude,

certitude, & pour cet effet il falloit attendre jusqu'à ce que les Ministres de l'Empereur, & de la république d'Hollande, eussent montré plus ouvertement leur jeu ; jusqu'à ce que les dispositions nécessaires étoient faites parmi nos peuples ; & enfin jusqu'à ce que la Reine avoit prise la seule résolution qui puisse nous conduire, en peu de tems, à une paix bonne & solide.

J'ai présentement la satisfaction de vous dire, Monsieur, que cette résolution est prise, & que Monsieur Harley partira ce soir ou demain avec les dernières instructions de sa Majesté à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires.

Vous trouverez bon, s'il vous plaît, que je me remette au Sieur Gaultier pour vous expliquer plus en détail le sujet de la commission de ce gentilhomme, & que la Reine espère que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne fera pour coopérer avec elle, & pour éluder les artifices de ceux qui souhaitent la continuation de la guerre.

J'avoir hier dessein à vous écrire quand j'ai reçu votre dernière du 10^{me} de ce mois, N.S. La Reine est très sensiblement touchée des malheurs qui viennent d'arriver à la France, & bien loin de vouloir que ces coups
de

de ciel retardent le progrès de notre grand ouvrage, sa Majesté va redoubler ses efforts, & faire en sorte qu'il ne tiendra qu'à sa Majesté Très Chrétienne de conclure la paix en moins de semaines que ses Plénipotentiaires ont déjà passés à Utrecht.

La Reine me commande, Monsieur, de vous faire savoir qu'elle ne doute point de la ferme résolution du Roi, de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher l'union des deux couronnes sur la tête d'un même prince, & afin d'ôter tout prétexte à ceux qui ne veulent pas la paix, & de mettre en repos les esprits de ceux qui la souhaitent, sa Majesté croit que sans perdre du tems il faudra d'être d'accord sur cet article ; le Sieur Gaultier vous communiquera ce qu'on a pensé sur ce sujet ici*. Je ne puis

* *Mémoire, sent by Monsieur Gaultier, March 5th, 1711-12.*

“ 4me Mars, 1711-12.

“ Depuis le commencement des pour-parlers de la paix entre la Grande Bretagne & la France, on a toujours établi cette maxime, qu'il ne falloit pas, s'il étoit possible, s'exposer aux événemens de la campagne ; la Reine continue dans ce sentiment, & a pris toutes les mesures nécessaires de son côté pour conduire bientôt à une heureuse fin de la négociation d'Utrecht.

“ Par ce qui s'est passé depuis quelque tems ici, on aura pu remarquer les bonnes inclinations qu'on a trouvé le moyen d'inspirer à la Chambre des Communes, qui selon la constitution de ce gouvernement, doit être regardé principalement dans les affaires de guerre ou de paix. Il ne sera pas difficile de faire
le

puis point finir ma lettre sans rendre à celui qui aura l'honneur de vous la présenter le témoignage

le même pli à l'autre Chambre. Après quoi l'on peut s'assurer de la concurrence de la Reine & de toute la nation Britannique, pourvu que le projet pour la paix générale contienne cette satisfaction raisonnable & cette sûreté réelle, pour tous les alliés, qu'on est en droit de s'attendre.

“ Monsieur de Harley partira demain pour Utrecht. Il est pleinement instruit des intentions de la Reine sur tous les points essentiels qui peuvent être discutés dans la négociation ; & il porte leurs derniers ordres à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires. Ces Ministres sont autorisés d'entrer dans une étroite confiance avec ceux de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, & de tâcher de concert avec eux, de former un plan pour le rétablissement du repos de l'Europe.

“ La Reine espère qu'on répondra à cette marque de son désir sincère de faire tout ce qui dépend d'elle pour terminer ce grand ouvrage, en donnant des Instructions à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de France d'éviter toutes les longueurs, & d'accorder d'abord les points que les alliés peuvent demander avec justice, & pour lesquels la Reine peut se déclarer avec honneur.

“ Le traité de commerce servira de prétexte pour couvrir cette négociation secrète, & le projet qui sera formé entre les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine & ceux du Roi Très Chrétien, peut être présenté aux alliés dans le congrès général par ces derniers, comme l'ultimatum qu'ils ont ordre d'offrir.

“ La Reine a été très sensiblement touchée des malheurs arrivés depuis peu de tems à la France. Elle ne doute pas que la mort de ces Princes ne serve de prétexte à ceux qui souhaitent la continuation de la guerre, mais elle croit que le moyen le plus sûr pour rendre leurs efforts inutiles, sera de convenir sans perte de tems des mesures nécessaires pour empêcher l'union des deux Couronnes. A cette fin, la Reine croit qu'on pourroit proposer que le Prince qui est en possession de la Couronne d'Espagne fit une renonciation formelle pour lui & pour ses enfans de celle de France, & que le cours de la succession de toutes les deux fût déclaré & établi dans le traité de la paix. Il seroit même à souhaiter que les cortés ou états d'Espagne pussent d'une manière ou d'autre concourir à cette acte.

“ Voici les premières idées qu'on a eu sur ce sujet ; si dans la suite on pourra songer à quelque expédient plus solide & plus

moignage qu'il a mérité par sa conduite. Il a bien servi le Roi son maître, & en même-tems il s'est acquis l'estime de tous ceux qui ont eu à faire avec lui. Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monsieur d'Allegre.*

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 4^{me} Mars, V.S. 1711-12:

J'AI reçu par le canal de Monsieur Molo, la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire.

Pendant le séjour que vous fîtes dans ce pays j'ai conçu pour vous ces sentimens d'estime que votre mérite exige de tous qui ont l'honneur de vous connoître. Je vous ai dès alors promis que je tâcherois dans toutes les occasions de vous rendre service, & je vous tiens présentement parole. La Reine consente à votre échange, & le courier qui

plus efficace, la Reine ne doute point que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne ne soit prête à y consentir, puisqu'elle envisage cette union comme mauvaise pour la France & pour l'Espagne, aussi-bien que dangereuse pour le reste de l'Europe.

* The Marquis d'Allegre, Lieutenant-general in the French service; taken prisoner at the forcing the French lines in 1705. Application was made in 1708, for his exchange, but without effect. In this war, Marlborough and Eugene divided their prisoners after a victory; Allegre fell to the share of the latter, and was detained in Holland.

VOL. II.

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partira Vendredi prochain, portera votre acte de liberté à Utrecht.

On est peut-être convenu de votre échange autre fois avec Monsieur le Duc de Marlborough, mais la Reine n'y avoit pas consenti.

Je souhaite comme vous, Monsieur, le prompt rétablissement du repos de l'Europe, & nous devons espérer que la négociation qui a été depuis quelque tems entamée, aura un heureux succès. Je suis, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, March the 7th, 1711-12.

THE conduct of the court of Hanover, is a melancholy for those to write upon, who wish well to the Protestant succession.

The Elector had till this winter, behaved himself so that the Whig and Tory equally courted him, and had equal expectations from him: he has now placed himself at the head of a party, and that too (whatever he is made to believe) by great degrees the least at this time, and, whenever we shall have got rid of our war, likely to be still

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w eaker ;

weaker; the landed interest will then rise, and the monied interest, which is the great support of Whiggism, must of course decline. There is something unaccountable in this matter; the Elector will be one time or other undeceived: I pray God it may be soon!

The Queen surely leaves nothing undone which is in her power to bring him to a right notion of the true state of Britain, and of his own interest. My Lord Rivers went first to him, and opened, with the greatest confidence imaginable, all the views which her Majesty had, the grounds of her proceedings, and in a word, the whole secret of her administration; the return made to this mark of friendship, was sending his minister hither, to associate with the servants which the Queen thought fit to disgrace, to join in open defiance to her measures, and even to appeal to the nation in opposition to their Sovereign. These affronts and indignities, our good Mistress is however willing to overlook, and once more try whether the film can be taken off from the Elector's eyes, and whether he will give ear to that true and disinterested representation

of things, which, in her Majesty's name, Mr. Harley is intrusted to lay before him. I own to you, with my usual frankness, that I suspect they have been made to believe at Hanover, as I know the Whigs have insinuated to their party here, that the Queen's life is very precarious, and that she cannot last many months. But, thank heaven! there is as little reason for this, as for most of their other propositions; and her Majesty is, I hope, at this hour, a better life than the Elector himself.

Your Excellency will certainly do well to let Count Sinzendorf know, that the Queen's ministers despise this correspondence with Gazetteers *, so much in fashion of late, yet that her Majesty understands the indecency and disrespect which is shown to her, in printing memorials and other papers presented to her, and will in a proper time, show her resentment of this proceeding.

The politicians thought, by these appeals, to gain the people in opposition to the Queen;

* Notwithstanding this assertion, Bolingbroke was an occasional contributor to the Gazetteers abroad—the Amsterdam Gazette of the 1st of March, N.S. contained an abstract of Bothmar's letter to his Lordship, and on 27th February, O.S. Bolingbroke sent an abstract of his answer.

let

let them have recourse to the representation of the House of Commons, and they will there see how well they have succeeded.

Your task at Utrecht, has indeed been of a most difficult nature. I hope you are now coming to smoother ground. I have instructed Gaultier to make Monsieur de Torcy sensible, that this is the critical time for them to make peace; that the Queen is far from desiring it should be retarded on account of the misfortunes which have lately happened to the family of Bourbon; that her Majesty is desirous to prevent the operations of the campaign, though we are in a way of taking the field with great advantage; that the dispositions are so made among our people, that a reasonable plan of peace will infallibly meet with the Queen's open and peremptory declaration in favour of it, as well as with the concurrence of the nation; that your Lordships, the Queen's ministers at Utrecht, will, on the arrival of Mr. Harley, be informed in every particular whereabout France must come to form such a project as the Queen will accept, and can justify herself to her allies, to God, and to all the world. That it remains on their part

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now

now to show their candour in avoiding that spirit of negotiation, which they have justly complained of in others, and in yielding roundly at first, what they must and will yield at last; that if they take a contrary measure, they run many risques, and among others, that of seeing Great Britain return to that eagerness for war, which till this year they have shown, and which they will be better able to support than ever, now that they have reduced their expences to such an annual charge as may be provided for an 100 years together. I know that if your Excellency and Lord Privy Seal, take proper opportunities of talking to this effect to the Abbot Polignac, the due impresson will be made; and I believe it must be a rule to your Lordship, to have more confidence in him than in any of the others, particularly than in Mesnager, who is a little fellow, and a Dutchman in his inclinations.

I am, &c.

To

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, March 22d, 1711-12.

THE messenger was kept till this evening, that I might send your Lordships a copy * of what I received yesterday from Monsieur de Torcy, in answer to the proposition which I made him, by Monsieur Gaultier, of an expedient for preventing the union of the two crowns, as well as a copy of the answer which I shall make to him to-morrow, by the Queen's order.

These two papers will furnish your Lordships with materials upon this head, and it is her Majesty's pleasure that you insist upon the expedient, the particulars of which Mr. Harley will have opened to you, in such a manner as to let the enemy see that no apprehensions, on one hand, nor no advantages on the other, can force or tempt the Queen to leave this essential article insecure.

What medium might satisfy her Majesty, I am not able at present to say, but very little less than her first thought will, I believe, be judged sufficient; and your Lord-

* Vide page 222.

ships may, perhaps, find means of knowing the sense of other powers upon the same article.

I have sent Monsieur Marschalch* from hence, I think, fully satisfied, and in a temper to do all he can, to make and keep his master so.

I made him particularly sensible of your recommendations, my Lord Strafford, of him, and I believe, you will find him of some use to you. I am, &c.

A Monsieur Marschalch de Bieberstein.

MON CHER MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

JE n'ai que deux momens de tems pour vous prier de faire remettre au Roi votre maître l'incluse, qui est ma très humble réponse à l'honneur qu'il a bien voulu me faire, quand vous êtes venu en Bretagne.

Par le courier de la semaine qui vient, je vous écrirai une lettre au lieu d'un billet.

Je suis, &c.

* The Prussian Minister.

Au

Au Roi de Prusse.

S I R,

De Whitehall, ce 20me de Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI reçu avec tout le respect & toute la soumission possible, l'honneur que votre Majesté a daignée me faire par sa lettre du 19me de Novembre, que Monsieur Marfchalch de Bieberstein m'a rendu.

Tous les services de ma vie ne peuvent mériter une si grande grâce que celle que votre Majesté vient de me faire, en déclarant qu'elle est contente de la conduite que j'ai tenu jusques à cette heure ; la meilleure manière dont je pourrai montrer ma reconnoissance de ses bontés royales, sera de continuer à faire des vœux pour l'accroissement de son bonheur & de sa gloire, & à chercher des nouvelles occasions pour marquer de plus en plus l'attachement très respectueux avec lequel je ferai toute ma vie,

De votre Majesté, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

S I R,

Whitehall, March the 22d, 1711-12.

I HEARD this day with great pleasure, by the return of the Falkland, that you had
gained

gained your passage, and that on Wednesday last you was within the Goree, working up to Rotterdam.

By the copies which I send in my private dispatch to my Lords the Plenipotentiaries, of the extract of Monsieur de Torcy's memorial, and of my letter in answer to it, you will see on what terms we stand as to that great article, the preventing the union of the two crowns. The Queen would have you speak in the same language as her other ministers are directed to do, very peremptorily.

For my own part, I am very hopeful, that when the enemy see we are determined effectually to provide for that contingency, they will be more reasonable. It will be proper for you who came last from Britain, to say to the French Ministers that not only the Queen, but all those who are inclined to peace among us, have built on this supposition, that the King will come into any measures, according to his promise, necessary to secure Europe against so exorbitant a power as would be formed by the union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and that if, at last, they attempt to impose trifling and insufficient

insufficient expedients upon us, they will render the most hearty friends to peace partizans for the war, which we shall be better able to annoy them in, when we have reduced our expences within that compass which we shall be able to supply.

You will likewise, whenever you speak with the French Ministers, affect a sort of negligence what becomes of the other points, till you hear how they will agree to settle this.

If you see Monsieur Marschalch, the Prussian Minister, at Utrecht, put on an air of confidence with him, his master must be played off in the course of this treaty, and he can be useful to that end. I think I have set him as right as one could wish.

Adieu. As long as you may think this letter, perhaps you will hardly receive so short a one from your humble servant while you are abroad.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

A Versailles, le 20me Mars, 1712.

LES Plénipotentiaires du Roi reçoivent,
Monsieur, de nouveaux ordres de sa Majesté
pour

pour convenir avec Monsieur l'Evêque de Bristol, & avec Monsieur le Comte de Strafford, des conditions qu'elle peut accorder sur les demandes de la Grande Bretagne.

Comme sa Majesté ne sauroit croire que Messieurs vos Plénipotentiaires aient ordre d'exiger des conditions, dont l'effet causeroit la ruine du commerce de ses sujets, & de la navigation de son royaume ; elle est persuadée que ces nouvelles facilités, & pour la Grande Bretagne & pour les Princes dont les intérêts lui sont plus sensibles, avanceroit le succès de la négociation. Mais en même-tems, Monsieur, le Roi s'attend aussi à voir moins de vivacité de la part de Messieurs vos Plénipotentiaires, pour soutenir les demandes de la Maison d'Autriche, des Etats-Généraux, & celles de plusieurs Princes de l'empire, qui ne se plaignent que parce qu'ils y sont excités par les ennemis de la paix.

Le moyen le plus efficace de l'avancer, c'est que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne donne aussi de nouveaux ordres à Messieurs ses Ministres à Utrecht, & qu'il y ait désormais de leur part, plus de concert avec les Plénipotentiaires du Roi.

Permettez-moi de vous exhorter encore

de contribuer de tout votre pouvoir à un aussi grand bien, & faites moi, je vous supplie, la justice de croire que je suis très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 28^{me} Mars, 1712.

QUELQUE plaisir que j'aie de recevoir les lettres que vous me faites l'honneur de m'écrire, je ne ferai plus en peine quand elles seront retardées, voyant, par la dernière, que le tems de votre silence est employé si utilement pour le succès de l'affaire importante, que j'espère que vous conduirez à une heureuse fin.

Le Sieur Gaultier m'a rendu compte de toutes les mesures que vous avez prises pour y parvenir. Il part pour Utrecht, où je crois sa présence nécessaire pour fortifier l'union & la confiance entre les Plénipotentiaires du Roi & ceux de la Grande Bretagne.

J'espère que les derniers ordres que sa Majesté donne aux siens établiront solidement cette bonne intelligence, & que vous achèverez

achèverez le reste à la gloire de la Reine votre maîtresse. Je puis vous assurer, Monsieur, que le Roi ne souhaite pas moins qu'elle, que la paix puisse être faite en aussi peu de tems que vous le marquez.

Je réponds par un mémoire* à celui que
le

* “ *Réponse au Mémoire apporté par le Sieur Gaultier,
le 23^{me} Mars, 1712.*

“ Le Roi ne souhaite pas moins sincèrement que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne de prévenir les événemens de la campagne, & de convenir, avant qu'elle soit ouverte, des conditions de la paix.

“ Sa Majesté a remarqué toute l'habilité de la conduite sage et prudente, tenue pendant la séance du Parlement, pour faire connoître à la Chambre des Communes, que la nation étoit abusée par ses alliés, qu'ils profitoient seuls d'une guerre, dont l'Angleterre soutenoit le poids principal, et dont elle ne pouvoit espérer d'utilité, qu'en faisant bientôt la paix, à des conditions honorables et avantageuses pour elle. Comme l'autre chambre n'a été entraînée que par la passion d'un parti turbulent, et que l'intérêt particulier anime contre le ministère présent, le Roi s'assure que ceux qui conduisent présentement, avec tant de capacité, les affaires de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, sauront bien faire plier ce parti, et l'obliger à se conformer aux véritables intérêts de la nation, lorsque les Plénipotentiaires de France et d'Angleterre seront convenus, à Utrecht, d'un plan de paix juste et raisonnable.

“ Pour en avancer la conclusion, sa Majesté a permis à ses Plénipotentiaires de se relâcher encore à de nouvelles facilités, dont ils informeront Mr Harley. Elle apprend avec plaisir que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne l'ait instruit pleinement de ses intentions, et qu'elle lui ait donné ses derniers ordres, ne doutant pas que cette Princesse ne renferme, dans les bornes de la justice, et de la droite raison, les termes vagues de *satisfaction raisonnable et du sureté réelles*, que ses alliés étendent nonseulement aux demandes les plus outrées qu'ils font actuellement (1), mais encore à celles qu'ils n'ont pas imaginés, et qu'ils

(1) The demands of the allies were in substance as follows :
The Emperor demanded, 1st, The ratification of all decrees of the

le Sieur Gaultier m'a remis de votre part.
Ce feroit un bien de pouvoir mettre en usage
l'expédient

qu'ils se réservent de faire, à dessein apparemment d'allonger la négociation. L'ordre principal que le Roi avoit donné à ses Plénipotentiaires lorsqu'ils sont partis pour Utrecht, étoit d'établir une étroite confiance entre eux et les Ministres de la Reine de

the empire (meaning, particularly, those against the electors of Bavaria and Cologne). 2. The restitution of all places ceded by Austria, by the treaties of Munster, Nimmegen, and Ryswick. 3. The restoration of the domains of the Duke of Lorraine. 4. The monarchy of Spain.

The associated circles demanded the restoration of all places ceded by the treaty of Munster, or otherwise.

Great Britain demanded, 1. The acknowledgment of the succession in the House of Hanover. 2. The departure of the Pretender from the territories of France. 3. A treaty of commerce. 4. The demolition of Dunkirk. 5. Cession of St. Kitt's, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (then called Acadia) and Hudson's Bay. 6. A just and reasonable satisfaction for all her allies. 7. The acknowledgment of the electoral dignity in the House of Hanover. 8. The abrogation of the 4th article in the treaty of Ryswick, which relates to religion, and a greater liberty to the Protestants in France. 9. Satisfaction to the House of Hamilton and Colonel Douglas.

The States-General demanded, 1. The cession of the Spanish Netherlands to the Emperor. 2. Menin, Lille, Douay, Tournay, Bethune, Bouchaine, &c. to the States, and Furnes, Ypres, Valenciennes, to them, or to any other power except France. 3. Treaty of commerce, as settled by that of Ryswick, with the tariff of 1664. 4. The restoration of the principality of Orange to whom it may belong.

Portugal demanded the cession of a pretended right to Marignan, &c.

Prussia demanded, 1. The acknowledgment of his royal dignity. 2. The restoration of the principality of Orange, with the estates of Châlon, Châtel, Belin, &c. in Burgundy, the sovereignty of Neufchâtel. 3. In commerce, the same advantages as Great Britain.

Savoy demanded, 1. The succession to the crown of Spain, after the House of Austria. 2. Exilles, Fenestrelles, Fort Dauphin, &c. as a barrier.

Treves demanded the restoration of Treves, and the possession of the grand priory, castle, and abbey of Palermo.

Munster and Wertemberg demanded the expences of the war, and the latter required the lordship of Wissemburg, which belonged

l'expédient que vous proposerez pour empêcher à jamais le grand inconvénient de l'union

de la Grande Bretagne ; les mêmes ordres leur ont été réitérés plusieurs fois, et nouvellement encore depuis l'arrivée du Sieur Gaultier. Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires d'Angleterre en ayant de pareils, et sa Majesté comptant beaucoup sur l'équité, et sur les lumières de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, le plan nécessaire pour le rétablissement du repos de l'Europe doit être bientôt formé. Les Plénipotentiaires de France en abrègeront certainement toutes les longueurs. Le Roi s'assure aussi que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne aura donné ses ordres bien précis à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires d'écarter toutes les demandes injustes de ses alliés qui ne peuvent former que des embarras. Le projet du traité de commerce à faire, a été envoyé d'Utrecht, le Roi le fait examiner. Il est très à propos qu'il serve de prétexte à une négociation particulière, cependant sa Majesté ne veut rien omettre pour favoriser le commerce de la nation Angloise, en tout ce qui dépendra d'elle, et qui ne sera pas absolument contraire aux intérêts de sa Majesté et au commerce de ses sujets. Le Roi croit aussi que rien n'est plus conforme aux intentions de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, et aux assurances que cette Princesse lui donne, de vouloir faire revivre la bonne correspondance entre les deux nations. Le dernier article du mémoire demande certainement une grande discussion, et d'être mûrement examiné. La matière est si importante, qu'on ne doit pas s'arrêter aux premières idées. Plus elles sont spécieuses, plus il est dangereux de se laisser tromper par la facilité qu'on croit trouver à les suivre. La France ne peut jamais consentir à devenir province de l'Espagne, & l'Espagne pensera de même à l'égard de la France ; il est donc question de prendre des mesures solides pour empêcher l'union des deux monarchies ; mais on s'écarteroit absolument du but qu'on se propose, & l'on tomberoit en des maux infinis pires, s'il est possible, que celui qu'on veut unanimement éviter, si l'on contrevenoit aux lois fondamentales du Royaume. Suivant ces lois, le Prince le plus proche de la Couronne, en est héritier nécessairement.

longed to Bavaria, with Montbeliard, and satisfaction for New Brifac, &c.

Hesse Cassel demanded the fortrefs of Rhinfels, &c. with the abolition of the 45th article in the treaty of Ryfwick, together with his expences in the war.

Most of the allies reserved a power of increasing their demands.

faire,

l'union des couronnes de France & d'Espagne, mais il ne faut pas dans ces occasions bâtir

faire, c'est un patrimoine qu'il reçoit ni du Roi son prédécesseur, ni du peuple, mais du bénéfice de la loi, en sorte qu'un Roi cessant de vivre, l'autre lui succède aussitôt, sans attendre le consentement de qui que ce soit. Il succède, non comme héritier, mais comme le Monarque du royaume, dont la seigneurie lui appartient, non par choix, mais par le seul droit de sa naissance ; il n'est redévable de sa Couronne ni au testament de son prédécesseur, ni à aucun édit, ni à aucun décret, ni enfin à la libéralité de personne, mais à la loi, cette loi est regardée comme l'ouvrage de celui qui a établi toutes les monarchies, & nous sommes persuadés en France que Dieu seul la peut abolir.

“ Nulle renonciation ne peut donc la détruire, & si le Roi d'Espagne donnoit la sienne pour le bien de la paix & par obéissance pour le Roi son grandpère, on se tromperoit en la recevant comme un expédient suffisant pour prévenir le mal qu'on se propose d'éviter. Ce seroit, au contraire, la source des plus grands maux, & ce seroit ouvrir la porte à des guerres intestines dans le royaume, dont le feu embrasseroit encore toute l'Europe. Il faut donc chercher d'autres expédiens pour empêcher à jamais une union également dangereuse à la France, à l'Espagne, & à toute l'Europe. Le feu Roi d'Espagne, Charles II, avoit sagement prévu l'inconvénient de la réunion des deux monarchies, il y avoit aussi remédié par son testament, car en même-tems qu'il appelle Philippe V, alors Duc d'Anjou, à la succession de ses royaumes, il déclare que si ce Prince, héritant la Couronne de France en préfère la jouissance à celle de la Monarchie d'Espagne, la succession de cette monarchie doit passer à Monsieur le Duc de Berry, & si Monsieur le Duc de Berry succède à la Couronne de France, l'Archiduc, second fils de l'Empereur, est appelé, par le même testament à la succession d'Espagne, le fils aîné de l'Empereur étant exclus par la même raison d'empêcher l'union de la Couronne Impériale avec celle d'Espagne. Depuis que le Roi Philippe V règne, il a déclaré & fait enrégistrer dans les conseils d'Espagne que les descendans de la Reine Anne d'Autriche devoient succéder à la couronne d'Espagne au défaut des descendans de la feue Reine Marie Thérèse. Aussi Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans, succéderoit au défaut de Monsieur le Duc de Berry. Cette disposition conforme aux lois & de la France & de l'Espagne, pourroit être confirmée par le traité de paix, autorisée nouvellement, s'il étoit nécessaire.

VOL. II.

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faire

bâtit sur le sable, & prendre inutilement bien de précautions pour assurer des actes qui d'eux-mêmes seroient nuls. En voulant éviter un mal, on tomberoit en d'autres beaucoup plus dangereux. Je vous supplie, donc, de bien examiner, de votre côté, cette matière importante, & de compter, comme j'ai l'honneur de vous le marquer, que l'union des deux monarchies seroit un mal plus grand pour la France, que pour l'Angleterre, & pour les autres états de l'Europe.

Comme vous paroissez fatigé du Sieur Gaultier, je crois, Monsieur, que vous serez bien aise d'apprendre que le Roi lui a donné une Abbaye. Je vous supplie d'être persuadé qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je suis, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

faire, par les cortes ou états du Royaume d'Espagne. Elle assureroit la séparation perpétuelle des deux monarchies, elle ne seroit plus sujette aux inconvéniens d'une renonciation qui ne peut jamais être solide, étant faite contre les lois. Comme cette renonciation n'est proposée dans le mémoire que le Sieur Gaultier a remis que comme une première idée, il faut aussi recevoir cette nouvelle proposition comme une première idée, & songer sérieusement aux moyens de s'assurer contre une réunion également dangereuse à toute l'Europe (1)."

(1) This memoir is a curious explanation of the divine and indefeasible right of the House of Bourbon, which, however, yielded to the necessity of the times.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

De Whitehall, ce 23me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'E répondois avant-hier, à votre lettre du 20me de ce mois, N.S. dans le tems qu'un courier m'apporta celle du 28me, avec le mémoire de la même date.

La Reine croit que le Sieur Gaultier vous aura donné satisfaction sur les points contenus dans la première ; & sa Majesté m'a commandé sans perte de tems, de vous communiquer ses sentimens à l'égard de l'article de l'union des deux monarchies, sur lequel votre dernière dépêche roule principalement. Les facilités qui ont été apportées d'ici à la conclusion d'une paix générale, ont été plus grandes qu'on auroit pu attendre de la Reine, ou que tout autre puissance auroit pu contribuer.

Le premier motif que sa Majesté a eu de faire toutes ces avances, a été une ferme confiance établie sur des assurances si souvent répétées de la part de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, qu'elle consentiroit à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher à jamais cette union si dangereuse à toute l'Europe.

Q²

L'expédient

L'expédient que le Sieur Gaultier a été instruit de proposer, est le seul qui paroît à la Reine capable de donner la moindre espérance de prévenir cet inconvénient ; & sa Majesté observe, que la proposition contenue dans votre mémoire ne fait que confirmer & rendre la Reine & ses alliés parties à un plan, qui a été & qui est présentement plus que jamais l'objet de leurs craintes.

Il n'est pas nécessaire que j'entre dans le détail des objections sur lesquelles on peut insister. Vous êtes, Monsieur, trop éclairé pour ne les pas voir dans toute leur étendue, & dans toute leur force. La Reine compte trop sur l'équité du Roi votre maître, & sur le desir sincère qu'il a témoigné pour la paix, pour pouvoir s'imaginer qu'il demandera qu'elle se contente d'une sûreté aussi peu solide que celle qui est proposée dans le mémoire, ou qu'elle souffre que le cas puisse arriver que celui qui sera en possession de la couronne d'Espagne, auroit le droit de succéder à la couronne de France. Qui nous assureroit alors que ce Prince ne se serviroit de sa puissance pour conserver l'une & pour acquérir l'autre, plutôt que de montrer une modération sans exemple ?

Nous voulons bien croire que vous êtes persuadés en France que Dieu seul peut abolir la loi sur laquelle le droit de votre succession est fondé ; mais vous nous permettrez d'être persuadés dans la Grande Bretagne, qu'un Prince peut se départir de son droit par une cession volontaire ; & que celui en faveur de qui cette renonciation se fait, peut être justement soutenu dans ses prétentions par les puissances qui deviennent garants du traité.

Enfin, Monsieur, la Reine me commande de vous faire savoir que cet article est d'une si grande conséquence, tant pour elle, que pour le reste de l'Europe, tant pour le siècle présent, que pour la postérité, qu'elle ne consentira jamais à continuer les négociations de paix, à moins que l'expédient qu'elle a proposé ne soit accepté, ou quelque autre également solide.

Je dépêche, demain, un courier à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires pour leur communiquer les ordres de la Reine sur ce sujet, & je dois vous dire, qu'ils ne pourront accepter aucun plan pour la paix générale, tout raisonnable qu'il puisse être à d'autres

Q 3

égards,

égards, s'ils ne reçoivent satisfaction sur les moyens d'empêcher cette union.

Ce seroit en effet de bâtir sur le sable, & prendre inutilement bien des précautions, que de faire la paix & de n'avoir pas prévenu un danger aussi grand & aussi probable que celui-ci.

On voit avec beaucoup de satisfaction que vous souhaitez que cette nouvelle proposition ne soit regardée que comme une première idée; faisons tout ce que nous pourrons de part & d'autre, afin que les secondes idées s'approchent de plus près, & ne laissons pas imparfait, un ouvrage qui a été tellement avancé malgré cette opposition vive & générale.

Je me réjoui de ce qu'il a plu au Roi de récompenser les services du Sieur Gaultier en lui donnant une Abbaye; il ne manquera pas d'être utile à Utrecht; ce qu'il y a de certain, est qu'il y trouvera les Ministres de la Reine dans la disposition d'abrégier la négociation. Je vous prie d'être persuadé que

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN,

De

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 24^{me} Mars, V.S. 1711; N.S. 1712.

J'AI trouvé à propos d'arrêter le courier que j'avois résolu de dépêcher hier, pour attendre la lettre que Monsieur le Grand Trésorier se donne l'honneur de vous écrire.

Dans ce tems, nos lettres du 3^{ome}, N.S. sont arrivés d'Utrecht, par lesquelles je vois qu'il y a eu quelque petit différent entre les sentimens de vos Plénipotentiaires & des nôtres sur l'explication de cet article qui promet un avantage de 15 *per cent.* sur toutes les marchandises du crû & de la manufacture de la Grande Bretagne. J'espère que les dépêches que j'enverrai demain applaniront cette difficulté.

Pourvu que nous puissions nous accorder sur les moyens d'empêcher l'union des deux monarchies, on doit espérer que les autres points seront réglés à la satisfaction commune.

Ceux qui souhaitent, tant ici qu'ailleurs, la continuation de la guerre, & qui se sont opposés à l'ouverture des conférences, auront un beau sujet de triomphe en cas que l'expé-

Q 4

dient

dient à cet effet ne soit pas proportionné au danger auquel l'Europe se trouve exposée.

Le Sieur Prior m'a montré la lettre qu'il a reçu de votre part. Soyez persuadé, Monsieur, que la Reine a nulle intention d'entrer en contestation sur les intérêts d'un Cardinal de Bouillon *. Sa Majesté souhaite d'accommoder les différents qui subsistent, et de ne pas créer de nouveaux.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN,

A Monsieur le Comte de Maffei.

De Whitehall, ce 26me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

VOUS n'aurez pas manqué d'appercevoir, Monsieur, par la conduite des Plénipotentiaires de la Reine, que ces Messieurs ont été instruits d'avancer les intérêts de son Altesse Royale, dans la conjoncture présente le plus qu'il leur sera possible.

De mon côté, soyez persuadé que rien

* The Cardinal was disgraced by Louis XIV, in 1700, without assigning any reason; though it is probable that his attachment to his friend Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, then under prosecution for having adopted the contemplative tenets of the Quietists, drew upon him the displeasure of the Court. In 1710, escorted by his nephew, the Prince d'Auvergne, he fled from France to the army of the allies.

ne sera négligé pour procurer des ordres convénables de la Reine, & pour les renforcer, le mieux que je puis dans la communication que j'en donne à nos Ministres que sont à Utrecht.

Vous connoissez assez la Bretagne, la constitution de notre gouvernement, & la situation présente de nos partis, pour sentir toutes les difficultés & tous les dangers, que ceux qui sont dans les affaires, à l'heure qu'il est, doivent essuyer. C'est par-là que vous aurez aussi une idée juste des détours qu'il faut qu'ils prennent, & des mesures qu'ils ont à garder presque dans chaque pas qu'ils avancent. En même-tems, l'Empereur & les Etats-Généraux, loin de nous savoir bon gré des efforts que nous avons faits jusques ici, courent risque de tout bouleverser, plutôt que de concourir de bonne grâce à faire la paix, même après qu'il est devenu indubitable, par le procédé de notre Chambre-Basse, que la guerre ne pourra plus être soutenu sur l'ancien pied. Je ne vois dans de telles circonstances qu'un expédient qui nous puisse tirer d'affaires, & empêcher la continuation d'une guerre qui sera dorénavant languissante, c'est le même dont nous nous sommes souvent entretenus, que la

la Reine, que son Altesse Royale, & les autres puissances qui souhaitent une paix raisonnable, s'unissent étroitement ensemble, qu'ils s'entendent & qu'ils s'entr'aident sur leurs intérêts particuliers, & en cas que la France leur donne satisfaction sur ces points & fasse des offres avantageuses aux autres alliés, pourquoi ne pas se déclarer pour un plan qui rétablira le repos de l'Europe ?

Vous avez certainement eu grande raison de vous appuyer sur l'article sixième de votre traité, & je ne doute point que nos Ministres ne se servent, tant auprès des François qu'auprès des Hollandois, des instances que vous avez fait pour montrer la justice, & même la nécessité qu'il y a de procurer à son Altesse Royale, une convenable indemnisation des droits qu'il pourra perdre.

J'écris aujourd'hui au Garde du Seau-Privé, & au Comte de Strafford, sur ce sujet ; & je fais qu'en les excitant à travailler pour vos intérêts, je fais ma cour à la Reine, ma maîtresse.

Faites-moi la justice de croire que je suis &c.

Je vous prie de bien faire mes complimens à Monsieur le Marquis du Bourg.

A Monsieur

A Monsieur Marschalch.

De Whitehall, ce 26me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI vu, Monsieur, avec beaucoup de plaisir, par votre lettre du 19-30me de ce mois, que vous étiez arrivé en Hollande, & que vous espériez vous rendre le lendemain à Utrecht. Vos bons offices y feront d'une grande utilité dans la conjoncture présente ; ceux qui souhaitent, pour leurs avantages particuliers, la continuation de la guerre, ne se rebutent pas ; de l'autre côté, les François sont très capables de se roidir, & de tâcher de profiter de la désunion des alliés. Il faut, mon cher Monsieur, que les bien-intentionnés s'opposent dans ces deux cas, & aux uns & aux autres.

Vous vous souviendrez peut-être de ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire des sentimens de la Reine sur l'article de l'union des deux Monarchies. Je suis persuadé que le Roi votre maître envisagera cet article comme le point essentiel de toute la négociation, & qu'il croira qu'il ne faut jamais consentir que le cas puisse arriver, que le Prince qui fera sur le trône d'Espagne, soit appelé par droit de succession à celui de France : cette
maxime

maxime étant une fois posée, il en résulte, par une conséquence nécessaire, que nous devons établir la succession de la Couronne de France dans le Traité futur, à l'exclusion du Roi Philip, & d'exiger de lui une renonciation en faveur de Monsieur de Berry, &c.

Les François ne manqueront pas de répondre, que ce seroit se tromper que d'accepter une telle renonciation, parce qu'étant faite contre cette loi divine, sur laquelle la succession de leur Couronne est établie, elle seroit nulle ; peut-être proposeront-ils que nous confirmions le testament de Charles II, par lequel Philip aura son choix, dans le cas de la Mort du Roi & du Dauphin de France de celle des deux Couronnes qui lui conviendra le mieux, & s'il veut régner en France, le Duc de Berry succédera à la monarchie d'Espagne.

Mais un expédient de cette nature seroit en même-tems & peu solide & honteux pour les alliés ; ce seroit confirmer un testament, qui a été & qui est présentement plus que jamais, l'objet de nos justes craintes.

Philip, disent-ils, ne peut pas renoncer à son droit de succéder à la Couronne de France, comment donc renoncera-t-il à la Couronne

Couronne même si elle tui tombe en partage; & s'il ne peut pas renoncer à la Couronne, comment aura-t-il ce choix que le testament suppose?

Soyons fermes sur ce point, tout homme peut faire une cession volontaire de son droit, & ceux qui sont garands d'un accord peuvent justement soutenir les prétensions de celui en faveur duquel une résignation volontaire aura été faite; sur le premier plan, l'intérêt de la maison de Bourbon, s'accordera avec l'intérêt général de l'Europe; sur l'autre, nous n'avons que la vie d'un Garçon de trois ans pour toute sûreté.

Je vous écris avec ouverture, & peut-être avec chaleur, sur cet article, mais vous m'excuserez quand vous considérez qu'à moins que nous prévenions cette union, nous jetons, en faisant la paix, les semences de nouvelles guerres, & le fondement d'un pouvoir qui ne peut pas manquer d'être dangereux à toute l'Europe. Je suis, &c.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, March 26th, 1711-12.

I CANNOT be sorry that the French are so near agreeing with the Ministers of Prussia; I wish to hear that our interests, those of Savoy, and those of the empire, were likewise adjusted. If this was done, and reasonable offers made to the rest of the confederates, I can entertain no doubt but both Houses of Parliament would address the Queen, to declare for peace upon such a plan. When I say this to your Lordships, I still suppose the great article, the preventing the union of the two crowns, adjusted in such a manner as to secure Europe from that fatal contingency which is now more than ever to be apprehended.

To the reflections contained in my letter to Monsieur de Torcy, upon his proposition, I cannot forbear adding another gross absurdity, which occurs to me as I write. In case the Duke of Anjou's right to the Crown of France comes to take place, he is not to enjoy both; how can he choose if he cannot renounce either? And can he renounce the

the Crown of France, and not the right to it? I believe it will be worth your Lordships' while to use more than ordinary pains, with such of the allies particularly as are nearest coming to an agreement, to render them firm upon this article. The Prussian minister might surely be managed, and I think that a lure might be held out to those of Savoy, which they will not fail to stoop at. I mean the impossibility of their master's family ever succeeding to the crown of Spain, if the whole House of Bourbon are to retain a right to both the crowns, and the chance which they may have, by a proper expedient, of sitting on the Spanish throne.

Maffei writ me a letter some time ago, to claim the performance of those promises of good offices which had been often made him. I have answered him, that he sees and knows the difficulties which we labour under, and the measures which we have to keep; but I was sure it would be your Lordship's care to advance, according to the Queen's intentions, his master's interest wherever your interposition might be useful; and that you would live with him and his colleagues in great terms of confidence.

Mr.

Mr. Harley is, I make no doubt, long before this, with your Lordships; and I hope he has fully explained the Queen's desires and views to you, at least he is as amply instructed in them as I am able to inform him; the conduct of this matter is in so good hands that I am hopeful an answerable event may be expected; the truth is, the impatience of the peaceable among us runs high, and the hopes of the warriors rise by delay.

If your Lordships are able to settle any plan with the French, which may be the foundation of a reasonable peace, her Majesty thinks that it may be proper and extremely useful that the Earl of Strafford should himself come over upon that occasion.

I am, &c.

To Colonel King.

Whitehall, March 29th, 1712.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the letters which I have received from you, and for the instructive accounts which you have transmitted to me.

The hurry in which I live, and the uncertainty of your situation, must compose
my

my apology for not corresponding punctually with you; my silence could proceed from no other reason, since I have the truest value for your merit; and the warmest affection for your person.

Colonel Butler goes from hence to Lisbon, and from thence to Gibraltar; to his care I commit this letter, and wherever you are, he will probably convey it to you. The Duke of Argyle is arrived here some days ago; by his report of things, it appears how necessary that order was which sent him to Port Mahon, I make no dispute but the Queen will find the same good fruit from my Lord Portmore's inspection of Gibraltar*.

Let me hear from you as often as you can, and be persuaded that your welfare and prosperity are sincerely at the heart of

Your ever faithful, &c.

* Beetsch, in his Political Index, has inserted the Earl of Portmore Governor of Gibraltar in 1706, and the Duke of Argyle as Governor of Minorca in 1709.

To the Earl of Portmore.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, March 29th, 1712.

I CANNOT refuse Colonel Butler, who is going to his regiment, to give your Lordship the trouble of a letter, which may serve as his introducer to you. His own merit will sufficiently recommend him to your Lordship's favour, when he has the honour of being known to you; in the mean time, I flatter myself that I shall be so happy as to procure him your patronage.

I take it that he will be under Mr. Stanwix, the Commanding Officer at Gibraltar; and if your Lordship should so think fit, he might naturally be Lieutenant-governor there. I suppose that there cannot be any objection to this upon the account of the person who now has that employment. We hope soon to hear that your Lordship has put things into some order at Gibraltar, where hitherto they have been in the utmost confusion, and under the loosest management; little has been done at any time on the side of Portugal; and I doubt that nothing is to be hoped for now, since the

Queen has, on the application of her Commons, determined no longer to take the entire load of that war upon herself, but to insist that his Imperial Majesty and the States-General do furnish for the future their thirds towards the support of it.

Gibraltar and Port Mahon will, in this case, be all that we have left to show for those immense sums which have been expended, and for that blood which has been shed in those parts. By retaining of these places, we may hope to acquire some recompence to Britain; from the gratitude of those for whom we have wasted ourselves, I would not expect so much as thanks.

I flatter myself that I shall have soon the happiness of seeing your Lordships here; wherever you are, I remain,

My Lord, with much truth and respect,
Your Lordship's, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI reçu, par le courier revenu de Londres, les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur

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neur

neur de m'écrire le 23^{me} et le 24^{me} de Mars, V.S. et j'ai remarqué, avec beaucoup de plaisir, que vous contiez que les conditions du traité de paix seroient bientôt réglées à la satisfaction commune, si l'on pouvoit s'accorder sur les moyens d'empêcher la réunion des monarchies de France et d'Espagne.

Je crois, Monsieur, qu'il ne doit pas être impossible de trouver un expédient dont toute l'Europe à également intérêt de convenir, et puisque vous ne vous arrêtez pas uniquement à celui que le Sieur Gaultier m'avoit proposé de votre part, j'espère que les secondes idées seront plus heureuses que ne l'ont été les premières ; si elles ne vous plaisent pas encore entièrement, ayez la bonté de me communiquer ce qu'on pourroit y ajouter, ou bien en retrancher ; enfin, Monsieur, travaillons vivement et sans prévention, à l'accomplissement d'un ouvrage aussi important que celui de la paix.

Comme la principale difficulté qui s'oppose encore à sa conclusion est l'embarras de trouver des sûretés suffisantes pour empêcher la réunion pernicieuse des monarchies de France et d'Espagne, le Roi propose de convenir

venir, par le traité de paix, dont toutes les puissances de l'Europe seront garants, que si jamais le Roi d'Espagne, Philippe V, ou le Prince son fils, ou celui de leurs enfans qui leur succédera au royaume d'Espagne, ou l'héritier le plus prochain et présomptif, ou le successeur de la couronne de France qui l'a préféré à la couronne d'Espagne, celle d'Espagne appartiendra, de plein droit, au Prince dont il sera convenu par le même traité pour la posséder ; que non-seulement le Roi Philippe signera et ratifiera cette condition du traité, mais encore que toutes les puissances de l'Europe s'engageront avec la France, à maintenir cet article, en sorte que si le Prince de la maison de France, qui régnera en Espagne, veut exercer son droit sur la couronne de France, dans le cas que je viens de marquer, il soit obligé de renoncer à ses droits, & à ceux de ses descendans sur l'Espagne, d'en sortir & de passer en France, avec tous ses enfans, Princes & Princesses. Que s'il préfère la couronne d'Espagne à celle de France, ou à la qualité d'héritier & de successeur immédiat de la couronne de France, il soit obligé de renoncer, en faveur de la branche qui suivra de plus près

la sienne, & qui fera demeurée en France, à ses droits & à ceux de ses enfans sur la même couronne de France, en sorte que, ce cas arrivant, le Roi Catholique, ou celui qui régneroit en sa place, auroit seulement le choix, comme étant l'aîné; mais il ne pourroit posséder les deux monarchies ensemble, ou hériter celle de France & laisser celle d'Espagne à l'un de ses enfans.

Si vous demandez, Monsieur, quelle précaution l'on prendra pour assurer une renonciation que je vous ai représenté comme contraire à l'ordre établi en France pour la succession à la couronne, je répondrai, premièrement, qu'il n'y pas lieu de croire que le Roi d'Espagne choisisse la couronne d'Espagne préférablement à celle de ses pères, par mille raisons, aisées à comprendre, & trop longues à déduire. Secondement, que s'il étoit assez mal conseillé pour faire un pareil choix, la précaution la plus sûre, seroit celle que vous insinuez, Monsieur, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire; c'est à dire, l'engagement solennel que toutes les puissances de l'Europe prendront, par le traité de paix, de maintenir
une

une disposition faite en vue de conserver la liberté & la tranquillité commune.

Puisque la clause du testament du feu Roi d'Espagne Charles II, qui appelle Monsieur le Duc de Berry, paroît un nouvel obstacle à la paix, plutôt qu'un expédient capable d'empêcher l'union des deux Monarchies, il semble qu'on pourroit convenir du Roi de Portugal, pour transférer sur sa tête la couronne d'Espagne, aussitôt que le Roi d'Espagne seroit appelé à la succession de France, & qu'il l'auroit préféré à la monarchie d'Espagne.

Le mariage du Roi de Portugal avec une Princesse de la maison d'Autriche, serviroit de prétexte à la disposition à faire en faveur de ce Prince; & s'il ne convient pas de penser à lui pour être Roi d'Espagne, on pourroit, sur le même fondement, choisir le Prince qui épouseroit l'une des Archiduchesses filles de l'Empereur Joseph.

Enfin, le Duc de Savoye étant appelé, par le testament des derniers Rois d'Espagne; au défaut de la Maison d'Autriche, il pourroit aussi être choisi. Mais comme un Roi d'Espagne, maître de Piémont & de la Savoye, seroit un voisin dangereux pour la France, le Roi se verroit obligé de demander

pour barrière, non-seulement la restitution des places d'Exilles & de Fenestrelles, mais encore la cession de la Savoye & du comté de Nice.

Pour assurer encore plus solidement le repos de l'Europe, on pourroit convenir, par le traité de paix, que les mesures prises pour empêcher l'union des deux monarchies seroient reçues & confirmées par les cortes ou états des royaumes d'Espagne.

Je souhaite, Monsieur, que ce plan soit conforme aux vues & aux sentimens de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, & je ne puis m'empêcher de l'espérer, puisque c'est de vous que vient la pensée de faire garantir les rénonciations par les puissances qui figureront le traité de paix, & certainement il n'y a point de meilleures précautions à prendre pour assurer la validité de ces actes, que de le stipuler par un traité solennel, dont toute l'Europe a intérêt de maintenir l'exécution.

Le Roi m'ordonne d'avertir Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire; & j'espère, Monsieur, que l'union & la bonne intelligence entre sa Majesté & la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, se fortifieront

fieront tous les jours, de manière que les ennemis de la paix n'aurent pas sujet de triompher.

Vous aurez le plaisir de les faire taire, & je ne desire pas moins celui de trouver les occasions des vous marquer que je suis, très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre, &c.

A Marti, le 8me Avril, 1712.

DE TORCY,

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 6me Avril, V.S. 1712.

JE réponds à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 8me de ce mois, N.S. & que j'ai reçu par le même courier qui m'avoit apporté votre précédente.

Soyez persuadé, Monsieur, que nous continuerons ici à travailler vivement & sans prévention à l'accomplissement du grand ouvrage de la paix ; les conditions de laquelle seront bientôt réglées à la satisfaction commune, si l'on peut s'accorder sur les moyens d'empêcher la réunion des monarchies de France & d'Espagne.—Vous voyez, Monsieur, que je persiste dans mon sentiment,

Chacun

Chacun de nos alliés a ses vues particulières, elles ne sont pas toutes peut-être renfermées dedans les bornes de la raison ; il y en a aussi beaucoup qui sont répugnantes les unes aux autres ; à ces points il ne faut pas regarder de si près, & des facilités de part & d'autre ne manqueront pas de réduire tous ces différends à un milieu juste & équitable. Mais l'article de l'union des deux monarchies est d'une nature & d'une importance telle qu'on n'y peut faire le moindre faux-pas, qu'il ne devienne fatal ; & tous les avantages qu'il est possible de stipuler seroient payés trop cher, en acceptant un expédient peu solide pour obvier à un danger si réel.

Je vous avoue, Monsieur, que les secondes idées sont plus heureuses que les premières, & qu'elles applanissent beaucoup de difficultés, en même-tems qu'elles dissipent beaucoup de nos craintes ; pour éviter tout équivoque, & pour prévenir le moindre méentendu sur un sujet si délicat, vous me permettrez d'expliquer le sens dans lequel sa Majesté entend, & les termes dont vous vous servez, & le plan que vous proposez par ordre du Roi.

Vous

Vous proposez donc, que le Prince qui règne présentement en Espagne n'attende pas selon votre premier projet, que la couronne de France lui revienne pour faire son choix de celle des deux qu'il veut préférer à l'autre ; mais que d'abord qu'il est devenu ou successeur immédiat, ou héritier présomptif de la couronne de France, il soit obligé de déclarer son option, & vous établissez la même règle pour ses descendants.

Or, Monsieur, la Reine croit que l'objection qui a été faite à votre première proposition, aura, en quelque façon, lieu à l'égard de celle-ci ; car dans aucun des deux cas que vous posez, comment l'Europe sera-t-elle assurée que cette option se fera ? Toutes les puissances, direz-vous, seront garantes de cet accord ; une telle garantie pourra véritablement former une grande alliance pour porter la guerre contre le Prince qui voudra violer les conditions du traité ; mais nous cherchons plutôt les moyens d'empêcher, que ceux de soutenir, des nouvelles guerres.

Enfin, Monsieur, ne faut-il pas avouer, qu'il ne se trouve aucun expédient qui puisse effectivement mettre l'Europe à couvert du danger qui la menace par la réunion des
deux

deux monarchies, à moins que le Prince qui est présentement en possession d'Espagne, ne fasse, dès à cette heure, son choix, & à moins que selon le choix qu'il fera, l'ordre des deux successions ne soit établi dans le traité de la paix générale.

C'est avec une très grande satisfaction que la Reine observe que ce plan n'est pas fort éloigné de celui que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne lui a fait communiquer. Raisonnons, en premier lieu, s'il vous plaît, sur la supposition que le Prince susdit préférera la couronne de ses ancêtres à celle d'Espagne. Il n'y a dans la nature qu'un seul cas, qui puisse arriver pour lui rendre la proposition que nous faisons moins avantageuse que celle que vous faites. Pardonnez-moi, Monsieur, si je fais deux suppositions très désagréables, mais nécessaires pour l'éclaircissement de la question que nous discutons.

Si le jeune Dauphin venoit à mourir, le Prince dont nous parlons seroit successeur immédiat de la couronne de France ; dans ce cas donc, il ne pourra rien perdre en faisant choix de la couronne de France dès à présent.

Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne (que Dieu conserve

conserve longues années!) venant à décéder, le même Prince seroit héritier présomptif de la couronne de France : dans ce cas que perdrait-il pour avoir fait son choix de la manière que la Reine le souhaite? Dira-t-on qu'il courre risque de quitter l'Espagne, & de ne pas acquérir la France? Vous voyez, Monsieur, qu'il seroit exposé au même inconvénient selon le plan que vous avez dressé. De tout ce que je viens de dire, la Reine croit, Monsieur, qu'il résulte, qu'il est également avantageux au Prince dont il s'agit, de choisir la couronne de France présentement, ou de le faire dans aucun des deux circonstances marquées dans votre lettre, & vous ferez, sans doute, convaincu que la sûreté de l'Europe sera infiniment mieux établie d'une manière que de l'autre.

Si nous raisonnons sur la supposition que ce Prince choisira la couronne d'Espagne, il est incontestable, premièrement, qu'il vaut mieux & pour lui, & pour nous, que cette déclaration se fasse pendant le congrès d'Utrecht, que dans tout autre tems. Secondement, que la garantie des puissances de l'Europe sera beaucoup plus capable d'empêcher qu'il retourne en France contre la renoncia-
tion

tion formelle qu'il aura fait de ce droit, qu'il de le contraindre d'abandonner une couronne dont il sera en possession, & de se départir d'une prétention à laquelle il n'aura pas renoncé.

Je vous ai, Monsieur, représenté le plus distinctement qu'il m'a été possible, les sentimens de la Reine sur le contenu de votre dernière lettre. Sa Majesté ne cherche que la sûreté commune, le Roi Très Chrétien a les mêmes vues. Au nom de Dieu, pour vouloir raffiner dans la négociation, ne perdrons point les fruits que nous sommes prêts à cueillir. Que le Roi votre maître, & la Reine ma maîtresse, partagent la gloire de donner la paix à l'Europe, & que ceux qui souhaitent de rompre les conférences par les événemens de la campagne trouvent leurs projets renversés par la prompte conclusion du traité.

D'un côté sa Majesté Très Chrétienne peut assurer la possession paisible de la couronne d'Espagne à son petit-fils, de l'autre, elle peut fortifier la succession de celle de France, empêcher à jamais l'union de l'empire avec l'Espagne, & procurer à son royaume des avantages très considérables ; des
deux

deux côtés elle peut délivrer l'Europe de ses craintes, & donner la dernière main à un ouvrage aussi glorieux que celui d'une paix définitive, sûre, & durable.

Par les lettres de Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires du 12^{me} de ce mois, N.S. je vois que nous devons attendre en peu de jours l'arrivée du Sieur Gaultier, & qu'il apportera avec lui le plan de la paix générale qui a été formé à Utrecht. Nous nous flattons que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne s'expliquera la-dessus d'une telle manière que la Reine puisse faire les déclarations nécessaires pour rendre sûr le succès de nos négociations. Je vous dirai en homme qui souhaite sincèrement la paix, que les facilités qu'on peut attendre de la Reine dépendent de la résolution qui sera prise touchant le grand article de la réunion des deux monarchies.

Je vous supplie d'être persuadé que je suis avec toute la considération & toute l'estime possible,

Monfieur, votre, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 8, 1712.

I THANK you most heartily, for the clear account which you are pleased to give me, of the situation in which the several interests of the allies at this time stand.

When I undertook, in opposition to all the confederates, in opposition to a powerful turbulent faction at home, in opposition even to those habits of thinking, which mankind had contracted by the same wrong principle of government, pursued for twenty years, to make a peace, the utmost vigour and resolution became necessary. I think these might have been carried, in some instances, to a higher pitch, and by that means, the negotiation might have been shortened; but as it is, we have stood our ground; your accounts show the general plan not to be insuperably difficult; and what you will receive by this messenger from me, shows that the great article, on which the whole event of the treaty turns, has been brought to some degree of maturity.

Your Lordship will receive a letter from

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me by Devenish, and in his behalf; the Queen would be glad to do this poor devil good, and she leaves it to you, that she may not be exposed on his account, to interest herself in vain. I do not yet stir in the affair of the troop of guards, because, when you come over hither, I think that may be better done, and your purse in great measure saved.

As to the post of Lieutenant-general, in the army of Flanders, you Lordship may be named to it, if you please, as the Duke of Ormond will acquaint you; but none being named in the list, except such as must actually serve, which the business cut out for you, makes it impossible that you should, you are not contained in the order.

I am heartily sorry, that your Lordship lost by Adams. I know how to pity such misfortunes, since I made a shift to lose 4000*l.* by Lund, the other day, though I never was worth 1500*l.* in the world beforehand*. I am, &c.

* When Bolingbroke went into voluntary exile, in 1715, the amount of the wreck of his fortune was, according to his own statement, only 13,000*l.*

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

Whitehall, April, 8, 1712.

I HAVE done, since I received your last letter, as I always did before, that is, I have promoted your interest as far as my power reached. The reason why I delayed writing to you, was because I was unwilling to say nothing; and on the other hand, I will never give any man, especially him I profess a friendship for, either false hopes or false fears. The Duke of Ormond was, when the Queen declared him General of her army in the Netherlands, as much inclined to do justice to your merit, and as much prepared to serve you, as it was possible for yourself to have wished. Some accident or other prevented the declaration of general officers of that army, for a week or two; in the mean while, his Grace received the compliments of every man who was to serve under him, but yourself. This seemed so particular, that the Duke was a little shocked at it, but the Queen was more so, and this is the only reason why you have not been named at first, and why you do
not

not stand upon at least as good a bottom as you ever did:

After speaking with the plainness that becomes a sincere friend, and which the circumstance requires, I am to tell you, that the Duke goes over disposed to live well with you, and to be your friend; you may confirm him in these sentiments, or oblige him to take another pli, the whole will turn on the first steps you take, I have loaded myself with the blame of your neglecting to write, by saying, that you expected to hear from me if you was to serve on, and that I believed, since you had received no account from me, you took it for granted, your applications would not be welcome. As to those apprehensions under which you lay, concerning your regiment, there has not been this year any ground for them; your employment in the Tower * is not, you see, given from you; in short, my opinion is, that you may be as well in this administration, as you was in the last; I am sure my wishes are so, my endeavours have been, and shall be so.

I have given orders to have this letter

* Clerk of the Ordnance.

S 2

forwarded

forwarded to you with all possible speed ;
make the proper use of it, and be persuaded
that I am, and will continue

Your's, &c.

To the Lord Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, April 8, 1712.

THIS private letter incloses a letter which I received some days ago, from Monsieur de Torcy, and my answer, by her Majesty's order. The present state of the dispute between us, upon that important article, concerning the expedient for preventing the union of the two monarchies, appears so fully by what has passed between this minister and myself, that I have nothing to add. Your Lordships will not fail to think of new arguments to back so just a cause.

My Lord Treasurer's indisposition hindered me from dispatching the French Courier, as I should otherwise have done, on Sunday night. To-morrow, he will, I hope, set out for Versailles ; and upon the answer which the Queen receives to what he carries,

ries, will the manner in which Gaultier is to succeed here depend.

Surely, my Lords, the facility which her Majesty furnishes, by yielding up the 15 *per cent.* and the declaration which she makes, that she will consent to settle the Spanish and West India trade, on the bottom on which they stood in the time of King Charles, must give the well-intentioned in Holland, a fair opportunity of drawing their republic into the Queen's measures. Certain it is, we can go no farther to please them.

I forgot by last post to mention to your Lordships, that the services which Mr. Drummond has done, have drawn upon him the utmost rage of our faction here, and of their allies abroad, and though he has not writ to me upon the subject, yet I know that they have united their force to distress him. Your Lordships will please to give him your countenance and protection wherever he may want them; and to assist one who has no fault, but that which your Lordships are more guilty of than any two men I know—serving your Queen and country above all other interest.

I am, my Lords, &c.

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A Monsieur

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 11^{me} d'Avril, V.S. 1712.

J'AI été obligé d'arrêter le courrier jusques aujourd'hui dans l'espérance que le Grand Trésorier, seroit en état de répondre à l'honneur de votre lettre ; mais comme la défluxion sur ses yeux qui l'en a empêché depuis cinq jours, continue encore, je ne diffère plus à vous envoyer la lettre ci-jointe *.

Nous attendons l'arrivée du Sieur Gaultier avec impatience, nous serons bien malheureux de part & d'autre, si la réponse que nous donnerons à ce qu'il nous apporte, & la réponse que vous donnerez à ce que j'écris, ne fassent pas la paix. Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, April 12th, 1712.

I SEND you inclosed, a copy of my dispatch to the Lords Plenipotentiaries, by which you will see, that the Queen goes so

* 6th April.

far

far in her concessions, in order to bring the Dutch to reason, that they must remain without colour of excuse, if they refuse to comply, and to enter heartily into our measures.

I have by her Majesty's directions, acquainted Mr. Van Hulst, with the substance of what I writ, and he sends the account to the Pensionary; the Queen would have you talk conformably to this minister, to Mr. Duyvenvoerde, and to whom it may be proper.

I am obliged to you for yours of the 15th and 16th, N.S. you will have seen by my former letters to the Plenipotentiaries, on what terms we are with the French, as to the great article; the return to my last letter to Monsieur Torcy, Gaultier's arrival, whom we expect every day, and the resolution of the Dutch upon this day's dispatch, will determine the fate of our negotiations.

I inclose to you, my Lord Treasurer's letter. The moment we hear from France, you shall hear from us.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 16, 1712.

ON Monday, after the Cabinet was risen, Fry, the messenger, arrived with your Lordship's of the 22nd, N.S. from the Hague, and with the other dispatches.

The two cardinal points, on which the whole event of our present negociation turns, are the effect which the communication of the Queen's ultimatum, concerning the differences between her and the States-General will have; and the resolution which will be taken in France, upon the plan transmitted from Utrecht, and upon my last letter to the Marquis de Torcy. If the Dutch come to their senses, and close with the Queen, we shall treat on a better foundation, and may hope to carry the enemy far enough in their concessions; since we have brought them almost to that point, singly, and under the disadvantage of contesting with our allies, at the same time as we have treated with them.

If the French give the Queen satisfaction in that great article of the union of the two crowns, whatever pli may be taken by the

the States, the peace will be made and abundantly justified.

It will be hard, my Lord, if we fail in both, my hopes are that we shall succeed in both; in that very few days will show us what we are to depend upon. In all cases, that firmness, by means of which we have waded through so many difficulties this winter, will support us under more.

I am very heartily glad to hear that a jealousy, which thinking men have had on this side of the water for some time, has found, at last, ingress among the Dutch ministers. These people may find, indirectly, their account in joining with the Imperialists, but their direct and permanent interest lies another way. Something of this sort was said to the Duke of Ormond, before he went from hence; I have again given him the same hint, and I hope he will be upon his guard.

What the Pensionary means, by saying that there must be a written plan exhibited by the French, before the States can proceed to adjust the points on which they resolve to insist with the Queen, I am at a loss to discover. If we unite, that union
will

will influence the enemy to the common advantage ; and therefore, a better proposition may be expected from him, after they have submitted to the Queen, than before.

The difficulty which your Lordship represents, may very well perplex them, but restoring a confidence with our court is a sure way, and the only sure one, of delivering themselves ; had they any genius, like that of John de Witt amongst them, we should not see them stand quaking in this uncertain temper, but on the contrary, they would take their party at once. The leaders of our faction here, seem extremely dejected ; the Queen's good health is probably one occasion of their uneasiness. I hope, that another proceeds from their feeling a desertion of their allies in Holland coming on.

My public letter will be very dry by this post, my next is likely to be of more importance.

I am, &c.

To

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 16, 1712.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter from Harwich, and the goodness with which you admitted the excuse which I made you in my former.

As I have nothing in command from her Majesty to write to you upon, I shall by this post, trouble your Grace with no public letter; a private one you will allow me to write to you, whenever I have an opportunity, or whenever such matter may offer itself, as cannot properly be trusted to the course of an office. I find by very certain intelligences from Holland, that the Dutch Ministers are not without their fears of their new General*. They begin to consider that he is a Papist, and a German, at least in interest. That the Emperor, his master, has nothing to lose on the side of the Netherlands; that a battle won may give ground for insisting on higher terms than the House of Austria is now likely to obtain; that a battle lost, may still

* Prince Eugene, on whom the Dutch conferred the command, upon the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough.

contribute

contribute to prolong the war, and that in either case, the expence of blood will fall to the share of the Queen and States.

I am of opinion, that these reflections have occasioned private directions to their General, to use more caution than the Prince will perhaps approve. This measure, your Grace sees, is not very consistent with the compliment made him by Monsieur Lathmar *, in the name of the States, of an unlimited command.

We hardly think the enemy would have taken the posts in which they now are, if they had not had a prospect of subsisting in them, till there is forage on the ground. I ask pardon for beginning to make remarks on a subject so far out of my way. The Queen will soon hear from your Grace, in what situation the armies are, and what is likely to be done in the field. I flatter myself that in return, we shall very soon be able to inform you in what state our negotiations are, and what success may reasonably be expected in the congress.

I am, &c.

* A Deputy of the States-General.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 22d, 1712.

THIS morning Barlow brought me your Excellency's of the 30th, N.S. and I am commanded by the Queen to acquaint you, that by Friday's packet, a messenger shall be dispatched to you with her farther orders.

The person expected is not yet arrived ; till we have seen him, we cannot be, on most heads, very explicit.

I am, &c.

From the Duke of Ormond.

SIR,

Hague, April 27th, 1712, N.S.

ON Monday, at two o'clock, I arrived at Rotterdam, and came that evening to this place. I went the next morning to visit the Pensionary, according to my instructions, and acquainted him with what her Majesty had ordered me to say to him, which he received as he ought to do, and made great professions of duty and respect to her Majesty, and that the States depended on her, and

and were sure that she would not leave them, but would see a safe and honourable peace for her allies; but said that he believed that we knew more of what was done relating to the peace than they did. I told him, that I believed that he would have reason to be satisfied with what her Majesty did in this negotiation.

I told him the intentions I had to live in good correspondence with the Generals of the allies, and particularly with those of the States, and desired his good offices therein, which he answered with great civility. I desired to know of him what resolutions they were come to as to the operations of the campaign; he told me, they were not come to any particular resolution, but had left it to their Generals, who could best judge what was to be done, when they were in the field. This was all that he would tell me. Prince Eugene went from this place on Saturday last, to the army, which is now encamped near Douay. My Lord Strafford is this moment come from Utrecht.

I hope to leave this place to-morrow, and to go to Ghent. The horses and recruits,
with

with the clothing, are landed at Williamstadt.

I send you here, Sir, inclosed, the copy of a letter that I received from Mr. Cadogan, and, if her Majesty pleases, I am very willing that he should be employed.

I send you too an abstract of Mr. Lumley's. This is all that I have to trouble you with, being, with great truth, Sir, &c.

ORMOND.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 22d, 1711.

I HAVE this moment received your Grace's letter of the 30th, N.S. and her Majesty commands me to let you know, that on Friday a messenger shall be dispatched to your Grace, with her instructions upon what passed whilst you was at the Hague.

The shortness of this letter ought to make some amends for the length which that may probably be of. I am, &c.

To

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 22d, 1712.

I HAVE nothing at present to trouble your Lordship with, but my thanks for your letter of the 29th of this month, N.S. which Barlow brought me this afternoon, and a communication of her Majesty's intention to summon a cabinet on Thursday, wherein the orders will be given for the dispatch which you may expect by the packet of Friday.

We are in hourly expectation of our Mercury. Till he arrives, we cannot take a final resolution, and when he arrives, I think we must.

Mr. Breton, who is going to Berlin, has orders to renew the negotiation, where my Lord Strafford left it, concerning the establishment of the Liturgy of our Church, in Prussia. If the Ministers of that Court enter into the matter with the same goodwill as they once expressed, it may be proper, by sending Mr. Caesar over, and by other expedients of the like nature, to help this good work forward. I can hardly see

any effect of sending him now, but giving him an opportunity of visiting his friends at the Queen's or the Envoy's expence.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 25th, 1712.

UPON what is contained in your Grace's letter of the 30th, N.S. and in the Earl of Strafford's of the same date, her Majesty commands me to say that she is desirous to hear from your Grace particularly on what foot the Dutch have settled the command. The expression in my Lord Ambassador's letter is a little ambiguous, and leaves it doubtful whether the States took the same resolution in relation to your Grace, as they had done before in relation to the Prince, or whether they barely gave you a copy of that which they had come to, in his favour.

A second point concerning which I am to apprise your Grace of the Queen's sentiments, is, the quality of the forces which are to compose your army, for the Earl of Strafford seems to speak of it as a determina-

VOL. II.

T

tion

tion taken at the Hague, that two armies are to be formed. Her Majesty, my Lord, inclines to be of opinion, that all the troops, whether subjects or foreigners, belonging to her, should be immediately under your Grace's command; there may have been formerly reasons for using a different method, but there seems at present to be some, of a very strong nature, for taking this, and perhaps they may every day grow stronger.

There can be no need for me to enter into the grounds which we have in this conjuncture, to be jealous of Prince Eugene's conduct; your Grace sees and knows them all better than I can repeat them. But on this occasion, the Queen directs me to inform your Grace, that she thinks you are to be more cautious for some time, of engaging in an action, unless in the case of a very apparent and considerable advantage, because you will be daily strengthened by the arrival of the Imperial troops. It is but just that these should have their part, if any thing of that kind is to happen.

The great article of preventing the union of the two monarchies is not yet entirely settled; our expedients are hard of digestion

to the French stomachs. If this was got over, I should not see any formidable difficulty in our way.

I send this messenger by Ostend, and shall expect him back by the same passage, as the most expeditious.

I am, &c.

What I omitted in my letter, I must supply in this postscript, and I do it with much pleasure: the Queen commands me to say, that you Grace desiring Mr. Cadogan should serve under you, she approves of him.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

A Marli, le 26me Avril, 1712.

ON s'approche aisément, Monsieur, lorsque de part & d'autre, les intentions sont sincères, & le desir égal de parvenir au même but. J'ai vu avec beaucoup de plaisir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 6me de ce mois, V.S. que le plan que je vous ai proposé applanit beaucoup de difficultés, & qu'il dissipe beaucoup de sujets de craintes.

J'espère aussi, que la réponse que vous

T 2

m'avez

m'avez faite, consommera l'ouvrage commencé. Suivant ce que vous m'écrivez, Monsieur, la seule différence qu'il y ait entre la proposition que je vous ai faite par ordre du Roi, & le projet de la Reine, roule uniquement sur le tems où le Roi d'Espagne déclarera le choix qu'il voudra faire, ou de conserver ses droits sur la couronne de France, ou de garder celle d'Espagne. Dans ma proposition, le moment pour opter étoit remis au tems où ce Prince deviendrait ou successeur immédiat, ou héritier présomptif de la couronne de France, & la même condition étoit marquée à l'égard de ses descendants. Vous observez, Monsieur, qu'en différant jusqu'alors un choix si essentiel au repos de l'Europe, elle ne sera pas assurée qu'il se fasse, si, malheureusement, l'occasion en arrive jamais, que la garantie de toutes les puissances qui auront part au traité, formera bien une alliance suffisante pour faire la guerre au Prince qui violeroit les conditions de la paix, mais que le but qu'on doit présentement se proposer, est d'empêcher le renouvellement de la guerre, & non de chercher les moyens de soutenir celles qui pourroient naître à cette occasion. Vous concluez

concluez donc, que pour empêcher la réunion des monarchies de France & d'Espagne, il est nécessaire que le Roi Catholique déclare, dès à présent, son choix, sans attendre le cas malheureux que nous espérons n'arrivera point, mais qu'il faut cependant supposer & prévoir, & que ce choix établisse l'ordre des successions dans le traité de la paix générale.

Vos observations, Monsieur, & la conséquence que vous en tirez, sont également justes, il faut que le Roi Catholique calme l'inquiétude de l'Europe, en déclarant dès à présent le parti qu'il prendra si la succession est jamais ouverte en sa faveur. A la vérité, il aura peut-être quelque peine à déclarer dès à présent aux Espagnols qu'il les abandonneroit pour passer en France, si l'un des deux cas que vous supposez, arrivoit. Une nation incertaine du maître qu'elle aura, peut devenir moins fidèle envers celui qui règne actuellement ; mais cet inconvénient doit céder au bien général. Ainsi, Monsieur, le Roi approuvant votre proposition, dépêche un courier en Espagne, & sa Majesté écrit au Roi son petit-fils, pour lui faire connoître la nécessité de prendre sa

T 3

résolution

réolution sur le choix qu'il voudra faire, & de le déclarer, en sort qu'elle soit insérée dans le traité de la paix générale, & qu'elle en fasse une condition, dont toute l'Europe fera garante.

J'espère, Monsieur, que le Roi d'Espagne se conformera aux conseils du Roi, mais s'il arrivoit, ce que je ne puis croire, qu'il ne voulut pas y déférer, sa Majesté prendroit toutes les mesures que la Reine de la Grand Bretagne jugeroit à propos pour déterminer nécessairement & même par la force, le choix du Roi Catholique, & pour assurer à l'Europe la paix, dont l'ouvrage paroît présentement si avancé.

Je suis persuadé qu'on ne sera pas obligé d'en venir à cette extrémité, mais le Roi veut que je vous informe de la résolution qu'il prendroit en ce cas, comme étant une nouvelle preuve de sa bonne foi, & du véritable desir de sa Majesté pour la prompte conclusion d'une paix sûre & solide.

Je la regarde comme très avancée présentement que la principale difficulté, qui pouvoit la rendre encore douteuse, paroît aplaniée. Mais il faut cependant s'attendre à de nouvelles traverses, de la part de ceux
qui

qui voudront rompre les conférences. Je crois, Monsieur, que le moyen le plus sûr de renverser leurs desseins, seroit que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne fit proposer présentement une suspension d'armes ; car ils fondent leurs espérances sur les événemens de la campagne ; & comme je vois, par votre lettre, que sa Majesté Britannique est disposée à faire les déclarations nécessaires pour assurer le succès des négociations, il me semble que la proposition d'une suspension pourroit faire de ces déclarations.

J'ai retenu ici le Sieur Gaultier, quelques jours de plus qu'il n'y devoit demeurer, parce que j'attendois vos réponses, & que j'ai cru nécessaire qu'il fut instruit de vos sentimens avant de passer en Angleterre.

Je vous informerai, Monsieur, des intentions du Roi sur les demandes de vos alliés ; j'espère que le plus difficile étant comme réglé, vous ne considérez plus que la justice & la solidité de la paix, & que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, agissant par ces grands motifs, donnera les premières marques qu'elle a d'établir avec le Roi une parfaite intelligence.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, par le même courier,

T 4

la

la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 11^{me} de ce mois, V.S. Je suis fâché bien de l'incommodité de Monsieur le Grand Trésorier, & je souhaite ardemment qu'il en soit bientôt délivré. Il est très important que ceux qui ont eu, comme vous & comme lui, la principale part à l'ouvrage de la paix, ayent la gloire de l'achever. J'espère que nous en verrons bientôt le succès, & je vous supplie de croire qu'en quelque tems que ce soit, personne ne sera plus véritablement que je suis, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 29^{me} Avril, 1712.

LE plan que vous aviez proposé dans votre lettre du 8^{me} Avril, nous paroissoit applanir beaucoup de difficultés, & dissiper beaucoup de sujets de craintes; mais à force d'avoir mal entendu les intentions du Roi, & mal expliqué celles de la Reine, nous nous trouvons présentement plus éloignés que nous avions espéré d'être, d'un accord, sur le grand article de la paix.

Il est bien vrai que la seule différence qu'il y ait entre la proposition que vous m'avez

I

faite

faite par ordre du Roi dans le sens que nous l'avons compris, & celle que je vous ai envoyée par ordre de la Reine, roule uniquement sur le tems ou le Prince dont il s'agit, fera son choix, ou de conserver ses droits sur la couronne de France en renonçant à celle d'Espagne, ou de garder celle d'Espagne en renonçant à celle de France.

Dans votre lettre du 26me Avril, le Roi Très Chrétien, consent que ce choix sera fait & déclaré dès à présent, mais vous n'y proposez pas, Monsieur, que l'exécution accompagnera l'option ; ce qui est absolument nécessaire pour rendre cette paix définitive. L'Abbé Gaultier explique tout autrement les intentions du Roi ; & j'observe que vous dites, qu'il faut que le Prince qui règne en Espagne, calme l'inquiétude de l'Europe en déclarant dès à présent le parti qu'il prendra, si la succession de la France est jamais ouverte en sa faveur ; de cette manière notre grand ouvrage ne sera pas beaucoup avancé par la dernière proposition.

Si nous l'avions entendu selon l'explication que vous en donnez présentement, vous voyez, Monsieur que nous serions tombés dans une très grande absurdité ; puisqu'en
rejetant

rejetant votre projet, nous aurions dressé un autre, contre lequel toutes les objections que nous avons faites, & qui ont été trouvées en France, même justes & bien fondées, auroient également lieu. Car quoique le Prince qui règne en Espagne, opte dès à cette heure, quelle plus grande sûreté l'Europe aura-t-elle, si l'exécution de cette option est remise à un autre tems ? En offrant qu'il sera obligé de déclarer son choix dès à présent, vous êtes convenu déjà que ni les stipulations d'un traité, ni la garantie des puissances engagées dans cette guerre, soient capables d'assurer que l'option se fera ; comment donc pouvons-nous conclure qu'elles soient capables d'assurer quand aucun des cas arrivera, que nous sommes à regret obligés de prévoir & de supposer, il quittera une couronne pour s'en tenir à l'autre, selon le choix qu'il aura fait, & qui aura été inféré dans le traité de la paix générale ?

La Reine a souvent déclaré qu'il lui seroit impossible de se contenter d'aucun expédient, qui ne fut très solide, sur un article d'une aussi grande importance que celle de la réunion des deux Monarchies ; faire autrement, ce seroit perdre les fruits de tout le sang que
les

les alliés ont versé dans le cours de cette guerre ; ce seroit enfin, trahir la cause commune de l'Europe, & exposer tant le siècle présent, que ceux qui sont à venir, à un des plus grands dangers que l'imagination puisse former.

Sa Majesté souhaite sincèrement la paix ; elle la souhaite raisonnable pour la France ; mais pour parvenir à ce but, il faut que l'intérêt de la France ne soit pas rendu incompatible avec la sûreté générale. Il faut faire en sorte que le moment ne puisse jamais arriver, dans lequel le même Prince aura & la couronne d'Espagne sur sa tête, & sa succession ouverte à celle de France.

Si ce Prince, dont nous parlons, ne se contente pas de l'Espagne, ou si la France ne veut point, en se passant de lui, trop affoiblir sa succession, faut-il pour cela que, la paix faite, nous vivions les armes à la main, & dans une attente continuelle de voir renouveler la guerre ? La Reine n'y peut jamais consentir, & sa Majesté croit qu'il n'y a pas un des alliés qui voudra se soumettre à une aussi dure condition.

Pour montrer, pourtant, qu'elle est prête à contribuer tout ce qui dépend d'elle, à
la

la satisfaction de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, sans blesser son honneur, & sans sacrifier ses intérêts, & ceux des ses confédérés, la Reine m'ordonne, Monsieur, de vous proposer un expédient, par où, le Roi Philippe pourra conserver ses droits sur la couronne de ses ancêtres, & trouver un dédommagement pour l'Espagne, qu'il sera obligé dans ce cas d'abandonner.

Sa Majesté propose donc, que ce Prince se retire avec sa famille immédiatement de l'Espagne ; que le Duc de Savoye s'y transporte en même-tems avec la sienne, & qu'il prenne possession de cette Monarchie & des Indes ; que le Roi Philippe jouisse du royaume de la Sicile, des états héréditaires de son Altesse Royale, avec le Montferrat, Mantouan, & en cas qu'il vienne à succéder à la couronne de France, que la Sicile retourne sous l'obéissance de la maison d'Autriche, mais que les autres états lui restent & soient désormais regardés comme des provinces de la France.

La Reine souhaiteroit que cette proposition parut venir de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, être un effet de sa modération, & un sacrifice qu'elle veut bien faire pour tirer
l'Europe

l'Europe de l'embarras où elle se trouve, & pour rétablir la tranquillité générale.

Sa Majesté croit avoir donné présentement toutes les facilités qui dépendent d'elle, à la conclusion de la paix, & n'avoir rien demandé que ce qui est nécessaire à l'accomplissement de cette promesse que le Roi Très Chrétien a faite, quand il s'est déclaré prêt à prendre toutes les mesures justes & raisonnables pour empêcher que les couronnes de France & d'Espagne soient jamais réunies sur la tête d'un même Prince.

La Reine me commande d'ajouter qu'elle espère que la proposition que je viens de faire par son ordre sera acceptée. Mais qu'en tout cas elle insiste que la réponse que vous m'enverrez soit catégorique & finale. Les circonstances où nous nous trouvons, aussi-bien que la saison de l'année, ne suffisent pas que nous restions plus long-tems dans l'incertitude, si nous aurons la guerre ou la paix. Le Parlement, auquel sa Majesté a promis la communication de ce qui se traiteroit au sujet de la paix, deviendra impatient, & la Reine ne pourra pas se dispenser de lui donner part de la réponse qu'elle recevra à cette lettre. Les armées sont en campagne,

pagne, & les événemens d'une journée peuvent entièrement changer la face des affaires; toute disposée que la Reine se trouve à faciliter la négociation de la paix, & à épargner l'effusion de sang, elle ne peut pourtant pas se déclarer pour une suspension d'armes avant qu'elle sache la résolution du Roi Très Chrétien sur l'expédient proposé pour prévenir la réunion des deux monarchies.

Si je ne vous dis rien, Monsieur, sur le plan de la paix générale * que l'Abbé Gaultier nous

* The reader will observe, that in the following Paper, the letter *O* prefixed, signifies the offers or concessions of France, communicated in confidence to the British Ministry, by M. de Torcy; *D*, the further demands of Great Britain for herself and her allies; and *R*, the reply of the King of France to those further demands.

GENERAL PLAN FOR PEACE.

Part 1. la Grande Bretagne.

O. (1) Le Roi promet de consentir sans difficulté à tout ce qui est contenu dans les articles 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5, des demandes spécifiques de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

(2) Le Roi fera démolir toutes les fortifications de Dunkerque, tant celles de la ville que de la citadelle, les Rysbancs, & autres forts du côté de la mer, & dans trois autres mois celles du côté de terre; à compter du jour de l'échange des ratifications, le tout à ses dépens, & avec promesse de ne les point réparer en tout ni en partie.

(3) Le Roi cédera l'Isle de St. Christophe à la Grande Bretagne, comme aussi Terre-neuve, à condition que la ville de Plaisance sera rasée; que le droit de pêcher & sécher la morue franchement & librement sur la dite Isle de Terre-neuve, demeurera aux François dans les mêmes lieux où ils ont coutume de le faire. Les petites isles adjacentes, & les plus

nous a aussi apporté, c'est parce que la
Reine

plus voisines de Terre-neuve, seront pareillement cédées à l'Angleterre, bien entendu que l'Isle du Cap Breton, & autres du golphe & embouchure du fleuve de St. Laurent, dont la France est actuellement en possession, demeureront au Roi.

(4) Le Roi cédera la province de l'Acadie avec la ville de Port Royal, & ce qui en dépend, à la Grande Bretagne, comme aussi les Détroits & la Baye de Hudson.

(5) Il sera permis aux François qui sortiront des pays ci-dessus cédés à la Grande Bretagne, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, d'en retirer leurs effets, aussi-bien qu'à sa Majesté d'en retirer le canon, & toutes les munitions de guerre.

D. L'Angleterre demande que la ville de Plaisance lui demeure en l'état où elle est.

Que le canon & les munitions de guerre de la Baye d'Hudson demeurent à l'Angleterre.

R. Sa Majesté offre de laisser subsister les fortifications de Plaisance en cédant cette place à l'Angleterre; d'accorder la demande faite des canons de la Baye de Hudson, de céder de plus les isles de St. Martin & de St. Barthelemy, d'abandonner même le droit de pêcher & de sécher les morues sur la côte de Terre Neuve, si les Anglois veulent restituer l'Acadie, moyennant ces nouvelles cessions proposées comme un équivalent.

En ce cas sa Majesté consentiroit que la rivière de St. George servit de limites à l'Acadie, ainsi que l'Angleterre l'a prétendu.

Si les Plénipotentiaires de cette couronne refusent d'entre dans aucun expédient sur la restitution de l'Acadie, le Roi plutôt que de rompre la négociation, veut bien accorder les demandes qu'ils ont faites; c'est à dire, laisser Plaisance fortifiée, & rendre les canons de la Baye d'Hudson; bien entendu que l'offre de céder les isles de St. Martin & de St. Barthelemy, & celles de déshériter du droit de pêcher & de sécher la morue sur la côte de Terre-neuve, seront nulles & censées comme n'ayant point été faites.

(6) Il sera nommé après la paix des commissaires de part d'autre, tant pour régler dans l'espace d'un an les limites entre le Canada ou Nouvelle France d'une part, & l'Acadie & les terres de la Baye d'Hudson de l'autre, que pour convenir à l'aimable de tous les dédommemens justes & raisonnables
prétendus

Reine ne regarde pas les différents qui s'y
rencontrent

prétendus de part & d'autre pour tous les torts reçus au pré-judice du droit de la paix & de la guerre.

(7) Les limites étant une fois réglées, il sera défendu réciproquement aux sujets de l'une & de l'autre couronne de passer les dites limites pour aller par mer où par terre les uns chez les autres, comme aussi de troubler le négoce des sujets de chaque nation entr'eux, & d'inquiéter les nations Indiennes alliées où soumises à l'une où l'autre des dites couronnes.

O. (8) Le Roi permettra que la maison d'Hamilton, le Colonel Charles Douglas, & autres, lui représentent leurs droits & prétentions particulières, & leur fera bonne justice.

D. Que le Duc de Richemond puisse hériter de sa mère.

R. Le Duc de Richemond ayant obtenu du Roi des lettres de naturalité, jouira lorsque la paix sera faite, du privilège attaché à la grâce que sa Majesté a bien voulu lui accorder.

D. Que le 4me article du Traité de Rîswic soit aboli, & que le Roi ne s'oppose pas à ce que dans l'empire toutes les affaires de religion soient réglées conformément au Traité de Munster.

R. Le Roi veut bien en considération de l'Angleterre, que cette affaire soit réglée avec l'Empire, sa Majesté n'ayant pas intention de déroger aux Traités de Westphalia sur le fait de religion.

O. (9) Le Roi promet aumom du Roi d'Espagne, son petit-fils, que Gibraltar & le Port Mahon demeureront entre les mains des Anglois.

D. Qu'il soit cédé à l'Angleterre une étendue de terre de deux portées de canon autour de Gibraltar, & toute l'Isle de Minorque.

R. C'est avec beaucoup de peine que le Roi a fait consentir le Roi d'Espagne à laisser Gibraltar aux Anglois, l'intention de ce Prince étant, comme il s'en est expliqué plusieurs fois, de ne pas céder un pouce de terrain en Espagne. Il sera plus difficile encore d'obtenir de lui la moindre complaisance sur un point aussi important, à présent qu'on le presse de renoncer à ses droits sur la couronne de France, & qu'on veut qu'il regarde l'Espagne comme le seul patrimoine qu'il puisse laisser à ses descendants.

Ainsi cette demande nouvelle sera certainement refusée, & le pouvoir que sa Majesté a reçu du Roi Catholique est directement contraire à cette prétension.

Comme il ne s'est pas expliqué sur la cession entière de l'Isle de Minorque, le Roi veut bien employer ses offices pour l'obtenir,

rencontrent, comme trop difficiles à être
ajustés,

l'obtenir, comme un espèce d'équivalent du terrain que les Anglois demandent aujourd'hui autour de Gibraltar; & dès à présent sa Majesté promet que l'Isle de Minorque entière leur sera cédée en cette considération.

O. (10) Les Anglois auront après la paix conclue, la Traite des Nègres aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le pacte d'affiento des nègres, aux mêmes conditions que cette convention a été faite par le Roi d'Espagne aux François; en sorte que la Compagnie qui sera établie pour cet effet en Angleterre aura la prérogative de faire reposer, vendre, & débiter ses nègres dans toutes les places & ports de l'Amérique, sur la Mer du Nord, dans celui de Buenos Ayres, & généralement dans toutes les places & ports dont l'entrée étoit permise aux vaisseaux de la Compagnie formée en France, sous le nom de l'Affiento.

D. Que les François ne puissent retirer leurs effets de l'Affiento que sur des vaisseaux Anglois ou Espagnols.

R. Les intéressés à la Compagnie de l'Affiento s'en tiendront précisément aux termes de leur traité, par conséquent, ils ne pourront faire de commerce direct aux Indes, sous prétexte de retirer leurs effets. Ils les perdroient absolument s'ils étoient obligés d'employer pour les charger d'autres vaisseaux que ceux de leur Compagnie.

La paix ayant pour objet de procurer le bien commun des François & des Anglois, il ne seroit pas juste qu'un des premiers avantages qu'elle doit procurer à l'Angleterre, fût au préjudice de la nation Française. Si les Anglois veulent traiter des effets de la Compagnie Française, on levera, par cet expédient, l'inconvénient qu'ils appréhendent.

O. (11) Le dit pacte sera pour le terme de trente ans, & il sera assigné à la Compagnie Angloise de l'affiento une étendue de terrain sur la Rivière de la Plata, sur lequel elle pourra non-seulement rafraîchir ses nègres, mais les garder en sûreté jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient vendus, suivant les conditions qui seront stipulées par la convention qui doit être passée pour l'affiento; & pour empêcher qu'il ne soit abusé de cette permission, le Roi d'Espagne nommera un officier pour y veiller, à l'inspection duquel les intéressés à la dite compagnie, & généralement tous ceux qu'ils emploieront pour en faire le service, seront fournis.

D. Que ce terrain soit au choix des Anglois, & que l'Inspecteur Espagnol soit supprimé.

R. On sait en Angleterre quelles sont les demandes qui ont

ajustés, pourvu que l'article de la réunion
soit

été faites au Roi sur cet article ; sa Majesté les a obtenues du Roi son petit-fils, avec beaucoup de peine ; elle ne peut lui demander ni permettre en son nom de nouvelles additions à ce qu'il a déjà cédé en faveur de la paix ; si les Anglois croient devoir insister pour obtenir de nouveaux avantages, il faut qu'ils traitent directement avec les Plénipotentiaires d'Espagne, & pour cet effet qu'on leur accorde incessamment les passeports nécessaires pour se rendre à Utrecht.

(12) Tous les avantages, droits, & privilèges, qui sont déjà accordés, ou qui pourront être accordés dorénavant par l'Espagne, aux sujets de la France, ou de quelque autre nation que ce soit, seront pareillement aux sujets de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

(13) Sa Majesté promet pareillement que toutes les marchandises du cru de la Grande Bretagne, qui des ports d'Espagne, où seront faites les expéditions des vaisseaux pour les Indes Espagnoles, passeront aux Indes, seront exemptes de tous droits, tant de ceux d'entrée & de sortie d'Espagne, que de ceux d'entrée dans les Indes.

(14) Tous les articles ci-dessus seront entendus dans le traité de paix de la manière la plus ample & la plus convenable, & on y ajoutera toutes les clauses de cessations d'hostilités, & autres sûretés réciproques selon l'usage ordinaire des traités précédents, qui seront rappelés pour avoir leur ancienne force & vigueur, à l'exception des choses auxquelles celui-ci aura dérogé, & cette clause sera mise à la fin de chaque instrument.

Pour le Duc de Savoie.

O. (1) Son droit & son rang à la succession d'Espagne seront déclarés & reconnus conformément au testament de Charles II.

D. On demande que cet article soit mis en ces termes : Le Rang du Duc de Savoye à la succession d'Espagne sera conservé à son Altesse Royale, suivant son droit.

R. Le Roi veut bien à la considération d'Angleterre, passer cet article comme elle le demande, nonobstant l'intérêt que sa Majesté peut avoir de rappeler & de citer en cette occasion le testament de Charles II.

O. (2) Le Roi lui rendra la Savoye & le Comté de Nice, avec leurs dépendances.

(3) Le Roi lui cédera de plus Exilles & Fénestrelles avec la Vallée de Pragelas.

D. Son Altesse Royale demande en outre les vallées au-delà du Mont Genève y compris celle de Château Dauphin, le
Fort

soit une fois passé ; & parce que si nous ne
sommes

Fort Barraux, & le territoire qui va de ce Fort jusques aux confins de la Savoye, comme il est porté dans le 4me article de ses demandes spécifiques, les villages au-delà du Rhône du côté de la Savoye, le droit de garnison dans Monaco, & le domaine direct de Manton & de Roquebrune.

R. Le Roi ne peut croire que l'Angleterre, desirant sincèrement la conclusion d'une paix ferme & solide, veuille donner lieu à de nouvelles guerres en admettant au Duc de Savoye les portes de la France. Il n'a ni droit, ni même prétexte apparent pour demander comme il fait, une partie du Dauphiné. Il ne peut appuyer sur aucun fondement juste & raisonnable la prétention qu'il forme sur les biens d'un tiers tel que le Prince de Monaco ; ainsi sa Majesté croit beaucoup faire de laisser à la considération de l'Angleterre, Exilles, Fenestrelles, & la Vallée de Pragelas au Duc de Savoye.

Elle avoit même lieu de juger par les premières propositions que l'on connoissoit en Angleterre, que ce Prince auroit dû se contenter de la restitution de la Savoye, & du Comté de Nice, sans demander encore ces deux places, qui ne peuvent lui appartenir par aucun autre titre que celui de la guerre, & de la bienfaisance.

O. (4) Les cessions dans le Milanez & autres faites à son Altesse Royale, par l'Empereur Léopold, seront confirmées.

(5) Son Altesse Royale pourra faire telles fortifications qu'il lui plaira dans les lieux acquis par les précédents traités, sans néanmoins déroger à celui de Turin, fait en 1696.

D. Qu'elle aura le pouvoir de fortifier tous les lieux qu'il lui plaira, nonobstant le Traité de Turin.

R. L'intention de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye est apparemment de fortifier Pignerol. L'intérêt de la France n'a pas changé depuis le traité fait à Turin, en 1696. Il n'est pas moins important qu'il l'étoit alors d'empêcher que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye ne fortifie cette ville, on peut même dire que le péril en seroit plus grand, ce Prince acquérant encore Exilles, & Fenestrelles, & sa puissance étant augmentée du côté de l'Italie.

L'Angleterre devenant amie de la France ne doit pas moins s'intéresser à son repos, & à la tranquillité de ses provinces, qu'à l'aggrandissement inutile de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye.

O. (6) Le commerce de France en Piedmont, & de Piedmont en France, se fera suivant le Traité de Turin.

hommes pas assez heureux pour réussir en traitant de cet expédient, ce sera une peine fort

(7) Son Altesse Royale pourra vendre librement la Baronie des Effarts, & autres biens & effets qu'elle peut avoir en France.

(8) Le Roi consent que son Altesse Royale augmente ses domaines en Italie autant qu'il lui plaira.

Pour la Prusse.

O. (1) Le Roi de Prusse sera reconnu par la France.

(2) Le Roi le laissera jouir paisiblement de la souveraineté des Comtés de Neuchâtel & de Valengin, avec promesse de ne le jamais troubler dans cette possession, & de ne donner aucune espèce d'assistance à ceux qui voudront la lui disputer.

D. Que les Comtés de Neuchâtel & de Valengin soient reconnus Membres du Corps Helvétique, du consentement de sa Majesté.

R. Cette nouveauté ne dépend pas du consentement du Roi, tout le Corps Helvétique est intéressé à cette proposition. Elle ne seroit pas unanimement reçue de tous les membres qui le composent; plusieurs auroient intérêt de s'y opposer, & peut-être même tous les Cantons Protestans ne seroient pas du même avis.

Les Comtés de Neuchâtel & de Vallengin sont alliés des Suisses. Le Roi promettra de les reconnoître, & de les traiter en cette qualité.

O. (3) Les sujets de la couronne de Prusse jouiront pour le commerce en France des mêmes avantages qui seront accordés aux sujets de sa Majesté Britannique & des États-Généraux, à condition de la réciprocité.

(4) Le Roi favorisera de tout son pouvoir les prétensions de la Prusse sur la ville & le canton de Gueldres, la ville & le pays d'Ercklens, qu'elle demande, pourvu qu'il n'en coûte à la France aucun dédommagement envers ceux qui contestent cette possession à la Prusse.

(5) Le Roi donnera jusqu'à douze cents mille livres, monnoie de France, à ce Prince pour acheter ses droits sur la principauté d'Orange.

D. Qu'on lui laisse l'option de l'argent qu'on lui offre, ou de la lizière qu'il demande en Franche Comté. Il offre seulement de laisser au Roi le Château de Joux au moyen d'un équivalent; de plus que les terres de la Maison de Châlons lui

fort inutile que de négocier sur les autres points.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To

lui soient ajugés, & que tous les édits & arrêts rendus contre les Protestans d'Orange soient cassés.

R. Le Roi croit beaucoup faire, & donner une marque de sa considération particulière pour l'Angleterre, en donnant douze cents mille francs à ce Prince, sous prétexte d'acheter des droits dont sa Majesté sait qu'elle ne peut se servir valablement, contre les prétendans à la Principauté d'Orange.

Il n'est donc pas question du choix entre cette offre, & une prétention aussi mal-fondée que celle de la prétendue lizière, que les Ministres de Prusse ont demandée en Franche Comté.

La somme de 1,200,000. livres offerte à leur maître est un présent que le Roi veut lui faire pour le bien de la paix, & le colorer seulement du prétexte d'acheter ses droits sur la principauté d'Orange : car, autrement, sa Majesté n'avoit point d'autre réponse à faire que d'assurer qu'elle laisseroit aux prétendans la liberté de poursuivre leurs droits sur la principauté d'Orange par-devant les tribunaux qui en doivent juger.

Cette réponse est la seule qu'elle puisse faire au sujet des terres de la Maison de Châlons, dont aucune n'a même l'apparence de souveraineté, & par conséquent nul prétexte de se soustraire à la juridiction des juges ordinaires.

Sa Majesté ne rend compte à personne des édits, & des arrêts qu'elle donne pour l'ordre intérieur de son royaume.

(6) Si ce Prince accepte les conditions ci-dessus, le Roi lui donnera le titre de Majesté.

(7) Le Roi consent & demande lui-même que les treize cantons soient compris dans la paix générale.

Pour le Portugal.

O. Le Roi convertira en traité définitif le traité provisionnel conclu entre la France & le Portugal en 1700, en se réservant la navigation libre du Fleuve des Amazones, qui doit être libre entre les deux nations.

D. Que les avantages qui lui ont été promis par la Maison d'Autriche tant en Espagne qu'aux Indes, lui soient accordés; savoir, les villes de Badajos, Alcantara, Albuquerque, & Valencia, dans l'Estremadure; celles de Bayona, Vigo, Tuy, & Guardia, dans la Galice.

Que tout ce qui est entre la Rivière de la Plata & le Brésil,

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lui

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 29th, 1712,

THE same complaint as you make in your letter of the 6th of May, N.S. which I received this morning, you will, I fear, have

lui soit cédé, enforte que cette rivière serve de limites aux deux états.

Que le Roi Philippe V lui cède pour barrière Coria, Ciudad Rodrigo, Puebla de Canabria, & Monterey, avec leurs dépendances.

Ensuite que l'Espagne paye ce qui est dû à l'ancienne compagnie Portugaise de l'Assiento, dont l'Angleterre & les Etats-Généraux sont garants. Enfin que la France lui cède les Terres du Cap de Nord dans l'Amérique Méridionale, nonobstant tout traité provisionel ou définitif.

R. Si le Roi de Portugal avoit conquis l'Espagne, ou contribué par des armées puissantes à la soumettre à l'Archiduc, il ne formeroit pas des demandes plus hautes que celles qui sont contenues dans cet article. Le Roi Catholique n'accordera rien aux Portugais en Espagne.

Il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'il soit plus facile sur les demandes qu'ils font dans les Indes. C'est un article à discuter entre les Plénipotentiaires d'Espagne & ceux de Portugal, aussi-bien que les comptes à régler de ce qui est dû à l'ancienne compagnie Portugaise de l'Assiento.

Il faut seulement observer que si les prétensions des Portugais étoient écoutées, le Roi Catholique auroit seulement le nom de Roi d'Espagne, mais qu'en effet son royaume seroit partagé avec un ennemi puissant. Que pour acheter un état incertain & dangereux, on veut l'obliger à renoncer à ses droits, & à ceux de ses descendans sur la monarchie de France.

Le Roi fait beaucoup pour les Portugais en consentant que le traité provisionel conclu à Lisbonne en 1700, soit converti en traité définitif. C'est tout ce que sa Majesté peut leur accorder; ils n'ont pas demandé d'avantage en signant le traité de ligue offensive avec elle, & avec le Roi d'Espagne.

Pour

have occasion to repeat ; our office-letters are extremely barren, and so they must continue,

Pour la Maison d'Autriche, & pour l'Empire.

O. (1) Le Rhin servira de limites entre la France & l'Empire, de sorte que le Roi rendra Brisac & le Fort de Keyl, en l'état où ils sont, cédera Landau en l'état où il est, rasera tous les forts qu'il possède au-delà du Rhin & dans le Rhin, y compris le Fort Louis, aussi-bien que celui de la Pile près de Strasbourg, à condition, & non-autrement, que le Roi retiendra tout ce qu'il possède en deçà ce fleuve, conformément au traité de Ryswic.

D. Que Strasbourg soit rendu, Huningue, & le Neuf Brisac rasés.

Que l'Alsace ne demeure à la France que suivant l'interprétation que l'Empire & la Maison d'Autriche donnent au sens littéral du traité de Munster.

R. Le Roi conservera Strasbourg cédé à sa Majesté non-seulement en conséquence des droits que la cession de l'Alsace lui donnoit sur cette ville, mais encore comme en échange de Fribourg, de Brisac, & du droit de garnison dans Philippsbourg acquis à sa Majesté par les traités de Westphalie & de Nimègue.

Les fortifications de Neuf Brisac subsisteront, cette place étant nécessaire pour la barrière de la France, lorsqu'elle rend à la Maison d'Autriche le vieux Brisac.

Il n'y a point d'autre interprétation à donner au traité de Munster sur la possession de l'Alsace, que le sens entendu par les ambassadeurs & ministres qui ont signés les traités de Nimègue & de Ryswic.

O. (2) Le Roi reconnoitra l'Electeur d'Hanover.

(3) L'Electeur de Trèves sera rétabli dans la possession de sa ville de Trèves, & généralement de tout ce qui lui appartient.

D. Il demande son rétablissement dans le Grand Prieuré de Castille, & la restitution des fruits qu'il prétend n'avoir été que séquestrés.

R. Le Roi promet d'obtenir du Roi d'Espagne que le Grand Prieuré de Castille soit rendu à l'Electeur de Trèves.

Quant à la restitution des fruits, sa Majesté promet ses offices pour la procurer, ne sachant pas quel est sur ce sujet l'usage d'Espagne, & c'est encore un point à discuter avec les Plénipotentiaires de cette couronne.

O. (4) Le Roi consentira, si l'Empire le juge à propos,

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que

continue, till we get out of this uncertain state, till we know what the French will do

que le Langrave de Hesse Cassel soit mis en possession de Rhynfels, St. Goar, & Kalz, à condition que la religion soit conservée en l'état où elle est.

D. On demande que l'article de la religion soit aussi décidé par l'Empire.

R. Comme cette affaire particulière regarde effectivement l'empire, le Roi consent qu'elle soit remise à sa décision.

O. (5) Pour ce qui regarde la Maison d'Autriche en particulier, le Roi promet que le Roi d'Espagne lui cédera les Royaumes de Naples & de Sardaigne, les quatre places de Tofcane, & quant au Duché de Milan ce qui n'en fera point cédé au Duc de Savoye.

Les Pays-Bas Espagnols, à l'exception de la ville & du territoire de Gueldres, qui doivent demeurer à la Prusse, comme il est ci-dessus expliqué.

D. On demande la Sicile pour la Maison d'Autriche.

R. Le Roi & le Roi d'Espagne sont non-seulement engagés envers l'Electeur de Bavière à le rétablir dans ses états, mais encore à le dédommager des pertes qu'il a faites pendant le cours de la présente guerre.

C'est en cette considération que le Roi Catholique lui a cédé les Pays-Bas Espagnols, s'il faut que l'Electeur s'en défiste pour le bien de la paix, le Roi & le Roi d'Espagne sont obligés à lui donner un autre dédommagement. Le royaume de Sicile est le seul état dont l'Espagne puisse disposer en faveur de ce prince, & pour satisfaire aux engagements pris avec lui.

Il est d'autant plus nécessaire de stipuler cette condition qu'il paroît que l'Empire s'oppose à son rétablissement dans le rang de premier Electeur, & que l'on demande que le Haut Palatinat soit conservé à l'Electeur Palatin, & après lui au Prince Charles de Neuburg, son frère, pour ne retourner qu'après la mort de ces Princes à l'Electeur de Bavière ou à ses enfans.

O. (6) Le tout à condition que les Electeurs de Cologne & de Bavière seront rétablis dans leurs états, dignités, biens, meubles, &c.

D. On ne s'opposera pas à ce que le Duché de Bavière soit rendu à Monsieur l'Electeur de ce nom, & qu'il soit un neuvième & dernier Electeur, à condition qu'il renonce au Haut Palatinat, & à la dignité de premier Electeur, sans pou-

do upon the great article, and till we see what pli the Dutch will at last take.

I inclose

voir espérer d'y parvenir qu'après le mort de l'Electeur Palatin, & du Prince Charles son frère.

Et quant à l'Electeur de Cologne, lorsqu'il sera rétabli dans ses états, il sera disposé suivant le desir des alliés, de la garnison qui sera mise ou non dans la ville de Bonn.

R. Quo'que cette condition soit injurieuse à l'Electeur de Bavière, le Roi veut bien y consentir, moyennant le dédommagement d'un royaume de Sicile, parce que le titre de Roi effacera ce qu'il y a d'offençant dans la place de dernier Electeur, qu'on veut lui donner au lieu du premier rang qu'il avoit dans le Collège Electoral.

Sa Majesté propose que les fortifications de Bonn soient rasées, & cet expédient lui paroît plus convenable que de mettre dans cette place une garnison qui ne dépende pas de l'Electeur de Cologne.

O. (7) On accordera réciproquement un pardon général aux sujets de toutes les parties de la Monarchie Espagnole, qui auront dans cette guerre des partis différens, avec restitution des biens. & honneurs.

Pour les Etats-Généraux.

(1) Les Pays-Bas Catholiques hors ce qui en restera au Roi, à l'exception susdite de Gueldres, appartiendront en propriété à la Maison d'Autriche.

(2) La barrière sera formée des Pays-Bas Espagnols, tels que les Alliés les occupent aujourd'hui, aux quels on ajoutera Luxembourg, en réservant la principauté de trente mille écus de rente, donnée par le Roi d'Espagne à Madame la Princesse des Ursins, Namur, Charleroy, Nieuport, Ypres & sa châtellenie, Furnes & Furnambach, la Knoque, Menin & sa verge, à condition que Lille en l'état où elle est, avec ses dépendances, sera rendue à la France, pour équivalent de la démolition de Dunkerque & Tournay, avec le Tournesif, Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, & Bouchain, en l'état où ils sont, avec leurs dépendances; comme aussi tout le canon & les munitions de guerre qui s'y trouveront, en échange des places que la France ajoute, pour fortifier la barrière, & de celles qui seront cédées par l'Electeur de Bavière, qui les possède actuellement.

D. Outre les places offertes pour la barrière, on demande la cession de Tournay, & de Tournesif, aussi-bien que de Condé, du canon & des munitions de guerre qui sont dans les places cédées,

De

I inclose a copy of the last letter which
I have received from the Marquis de Torcy,
and

De plus, une renonciation à perpétuité pour tous Rois, Princes, & Princesses du sang royal de France, à tous droits présens & à venir, ou possibles, sur ce qui composera la barrière, en tout ou en partie.

On refuse de convenir de la principauté accordée ou réservée à la Princesse des Urins.

R. Le Roi insiste sur la restitution de Tournay, & du Tournesil, comme essentielles pour assurer la barrière dont la France a besoin du côté des Pays-Bas.

Cette barrière est d'autant plus importante que la puissance de la Maison d'Autriche devient formidable par la réunion de tant d'états considérables en la personne du même Prince. Tout est à craindre d'un voisin aussi dangereux, plus appliqué à ses affaires qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs, qui se fait honneur de marcher sur les traces de Charles V, & ne dissimule pas le dessein qu'il a de s'agrandir. On ne peut douter aussi qu'il ne soit fortement aidé par la république d'Hollande, l'expérience ayant fait voir que bien loin de craindre le pouvoir de la Maison d'Autriche, cette république fait consister sa gloire & sa sûreté à multiplier le nombre des états de cette puissante maison.

La même raison d'assurer la frontière du royaume demande que le Roi conserve la place de Condé, & sa Majesté ne doit pas se relâcher sur cet article.

Comme elle en connoît parfaitement toutes les conséquences, elle ressentira vivement le plaisir que l'Angleterre lui fera de contribuer à la restitution de Tournay & du Tournesil, & de faire cesser toutes demandes au sujet de Condé : et pour en donner des marques réelles à cette couronne, sa Majesté veut bien s'engager que si Tournay & le Tournesil lui sont restitués, que toutes demandes au sujet de Condé cessent, & qu'elle conserve aussi cette place par la paix. Elle accordera en ce cas, à la pure considération de l'Angleterre, de combler le Port de Dunkerque, quoique sa Majesté connoissant le préjudice que cette condition, si fortement demandée par les Anglois, lui causeroit, ait toujours refusé de l'accorder.

Elle consentira de plus à faire démolir les fortifications de Bergh St. Vinose, avec le Fort François qui en dépend, & même s'il est nécessaire à céder cette ville rasée au Prince à qui les Pays-Bas appartiendront.

Elle consentira pareillement à laisser le canon & les munitions

and another of my answer to him, which will, I hope, be dispatched to-night or to-morrow morning. Copies have been already transmitted to your Lordship of the several letters which preceded these, so that your Lordship and Lord Privy Seal are as fully apprized of this under-plot, as we are who sit in the cabinet here. The whole event of our treaty turning on this article of the reunion, I should not think our affairs in a very good situation, had I not reason to believe that the Treasurer knows, that this expedient, or something very near to it, will

tions de guerre qui se trouveront dans les places qu'elle cédera, à condition que le canon & les munitions de guerre demeureront aussi dans les places qui lui seront cédées & appartiennent à sa Majesté.

La condition doit être réciproque, ou de laisser toute l'artillerie, & ce qui en dépend dans les places cédées, tant de la part du Roi que de celle de ses ennemis, ou de régler la quantité qui en sera laissée dans chacune de ces places.

La renonciation demandée au Roi est une clause tirée des préliminaires de 1709. Il y auroit beaucoup de raisons de la rejeter comme inutile, & même comme absurde, mais sa Majesté veut bien l'accorder.

Comme la principauté réservée par la Princesse des Ursins, n'intéresse en rien les affaires publiques, le Roi souhaite que la difficulté sur cet article puisse être levée.

O. (3) Pour le commerce d'Espagne & des Indes, il sera comme il étoit sous le règne de Charles II; & pour celui de France il sera comme il est stipulé par le Traité de Ryswic; & on suivra le Tarif de 1664, à l'exception de quatre genres de marchandises, aux conditions dont on conviendra.

D. On se réserve à traiter des quatre genres de marchandises.

R. Le Roi l'approuve.

be

be closed with by the French Court. I may tell you, in the utmost confidence, that the first hint was given by him, in the Committee of Council, and, by several expressions which dropped from him, when alterations were started, I could plainly find, that he knew what would be most, and what least agreeable at Versailles. I have turned Gaultier round all manner of ways, and I think I discover by him, that they will not be obstinate in France, against any expedient of this nature. I flatter myself that a little more or a little less in the equivalent, will be the principal difference between us. What I say concerning the Treasurer's part in this matter is only founded upon conjecture, for I do assure you, I am not in this part of his secret; it is therefore only for yourself; but your Lordship will please to give my Lord Privy Seal communication of the two letters.

Your judgment as to the Dutch is undoubtedly right; and I believe you will be of opinion that after the steps which the Queen has made towards them, it is not at all repugnant to our interest, that they delay settling a plan of the general peace with us; since,

since, if France and we agree about the article for preventing the union of the two monarchies, we shall certainly go on to adjust with the French the heads of the future treaty; and this may be done with a much better grace, if, after repeated incitations to open their minds, the Ministers of Holland should continue still silent, than it could be if they had freely declared their sentiments, and entered into a formal concert with your Lordships.

The same apprehensions which your Lordship has concerning Prince Eugene, are entertained here, and I send you the copy of a letter which I dispatched by express to the Duke of Ormond, upon the receipt of your former letter, wherein you gave an account of what had passed whilst you was at the Hague, with his Grace.

Gaultier seems to me extremely fearful of any action on that side, and he has, I believe, ten times since his arrival, used this expression: that he hoped nothing would be attempted by our army, till we saw what resolution his court would take upon the overture now made to them.

Hohen-

Hohendorf* knew you very ill, if he thought to impose by such a tale as he dressed up to your Lordship. Several letters from Vienna have fallen into my hands, and it is prodigious to observe in all of them, how much rage they express, that we presume to emancipate ourselves from the slavery which we have been under. I am, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 2d, 1712.

SEVERAL of your Lordship's letters are come, almost at the same time, to my hands, some of them are without any date, the freshest is of the 23d last month, from Venice.

It would be a real and a very great mortification to me, if I imagined your Lordship had entertained the least doubt of that friendship which I profess to have for you; my habits at Court have neither taught me to show what I do not feel, nor to hide what I do; and my love and my hate are so

* Adjutant-general to Prince Eugene's command.

far

far from not appearing in my words and actions, that they generally fit in my very face.

As I endeavour to do this justice to my own heart, so, my Lord, you must give me leave to do the same to those friends whom you left behind you ; and who, I dare answer for them, have the same esteem for your merit, the same affection for your person, and the same zeal for your service, which they ever had. But, my Lord, in all your experience, I may venture to affirm, you never passed through such a scene of confusion and difficulty, as this winter has afforded us ; and though we have kept one point of view steadily in sight, and worked towards it, yet have been forced to shift our course, and try different measures, almost every day.

Faction can invent nothing more ruinous to the public, the rage of woman nothing more barbarous towards particular men, than some of the intrigues which have been lately carried on. At the same time, a nice negotiation has been on foot, wherein not Britain alone, but all Europe, not the present age alone, but posterity are deeply concerned ;

ed; and this with an enemy, who wants no inclination to take advantages, nor skill to manage them.

To these causes, and to others of a near resemblance to these, be pleased, my Lord, to attribute the state of darkness and uncertainty, which you complain you have been left in. The Queen has, from week to week, expected the moment when her affairs, and the great business now in agitation, would require the employing you in a post worthy of your talents, and, I believe, agreeable to your wishes. That moment is not very far off, and I take it for granted, that the Earl of Dartmouth has already hinted to your Lordship, what you are to expect.

The Duke of Savoy will find the Queen is the best friend he and his family have, and therefore, that more confidence in her, and less uneasiness of temper, would have become his character better.

The alarm which we had concerning the Prince Electoral *, made a great impression upon her Majesty, and under these first terrors, the resolution was taken of giving your Lordship a commission, which, I perceive,

* Of Saxony renouncing Protestantism.

you

you do not very much relish. Mackenzie was pitched upon by the Electress Dowager, and trusted with her letters, and with those of the Protestant ministers; so that if he had been guilty of any indiscretion, we should not be answerable for it; but, I hope, before this time, your Lordship has received another account of the adventure with his servant.

As to my own part, my Lord, in Parliament, or out of it, as I will always deserve your friendship, so I flatter myself, I shall always have it. But, my Lord, as to my conduct in the negotiation for a peace, I shall want no justification. I have, it is true, acted as boldly in the promoting that good work, as your Lordship used to do, where you thought the interest of your country at stake; and I tell you, without any Gasconade, that I had rather be banished for my whole life, because I have helped to make the peace, than be raised to the highest honours, for having contributed to obstruct it*; however, God be

* This passage is remarkable, on account of the event verifying the assertion. Upon the return of the Whig administration, at the accession of George I, Bolingbroke was impeached for helping to make the peace, and actually went into a voluntary exile.

praised! we run no risque of this kind; the eyes of mankind are opened, and they begin to see the falsehood of that system of politics, on which we have acted so many years together.

I inclose this letter to Mr. Cole, who will convey it to your Lordship, wherever you may happen to be. No man loves you better, or honours you more than

Yours, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, May 2nd, 1712.

THE misfortune, which a combination of ill people and ill accidents, is likely to bring upon you, gives me a most sensible affliction; your friends will not change with your fortune, and you may depend upon the best services which we are able, on this side the water, to do you.

I believe my Lord Treasurer gave these assurances to Mrs. Drummond at her departure; and when you have, as well as you can, wound up your bottoms in Holland, I hope

hope you will feel the effects of his friendship in Britain.

I doubt George* has been extravagant, and if he has, those who blame him ought to accuse themselves. If my father should not answer the bills he has drawn, I will not fail to see them paid, and I give you my word, that the balance of his account shall be made good to you. There is another debt, which he owes you, and which he can never satisfy; I mean his debt of gratitude, for all the kindness which you showed him in his illness; but I hope he will be ever your servant; and show, at least, he does not want the inclination, though he may the powers.

As to the present situation of people's minds in Holland, I can only say, that the Queen (as well as her servants) is heartily sorry to find, that they will continue the bubbles of a faction here. It is impossible for her Majesty to go farther than she has lately done, in her offers to purchase a good understanding with them; but if this goodness of hers does not meet with a suitable return from them, she will think herself tied

* Bolingbroke's younger brother.

by no obligation to them, and they must stand as well as they can by themselves. In this case, they will have their own ministers to reproach, who, in order to serve a mistaken policy, and keep up the ferment against peace, have never acquainted them with the several proposals made by the Queen, nor given a true representation of facts to them*.

Our scheme is settled, and neither the States-General, nor their allies, the junto of Whigs, can force us to depart from it.

In all times, and in all circumstances, I am, and will faithfully continue, Sir, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 3, 1712.

I KEPT the post back, in expectation of letters from your side, and I have this morning received those of the 10th, N.S.

To what I said in my last, upon the great article, I can now add, that Gaultier has

* It was then generally believed that Buys never communicated to his employers, what passed between him and the Queen's Ministers, to induce the States-General to co-operate with her Majesty.

owned

owned to me, he expects our expedient will be accepted in France, he supposes they may endeavour to mend the equivalent.

The French have undoubtedly a great advantage in treating in their own language, and I can easily believe, that some of the expressions in my letters to Monsieur de Torcy, may have been either faint, improper, or ambiguous; but surely the whole tenor of them makes it plain, that we never intended to separate the option and the execution of the option. But how doubtful forever my former dispatches may have been, my last, [I hope, they will understand. At least, I cannot deliver the Queen's sense in plainer terms.

We have considered the point of a cessation of arms; if the enemy agree to our last proposition, it will be immediately granted; an hour's time will regulate all the differences which are between us, in the articles relating to Britain; and then I entirely concur with your Lordship, that her Majesty ought to take upon her the part of mediator, as well for her own honour, as for the good of the negotiation. In the discourse which I have had with the Treasurer upon

X 3 this

this head, we agreed that Dunkirk ought to be put into our hands, and Ipres into the hands of the Dutch, as pledges for the evacuation of Spain, during the suspension. The French would, I believe, as soon consent to give the former undemolished to the Queen, as to be at the expence of razing the works, and ruining the harbour ; and in this respect, I think the intention of her Majesty, is to act as the Dutch shall deserve, by their behaviour at her hands.

Your Lordship and Lord Privy Seal, will turn in your thoughts, whether the two places abovementioned are sufficient securities to grant an armistice upon. It has always appeared to me to be a mathematical demonstration, that it was worth our while, on such an occasion, to accept any thing which is more than we can probably conquer within the time for which the suspension is consented to.

Surely we may be easy enough about the Dutch, and it seems now to be their business more than the Queen's to enter into our measures ; the appearance of intimacy with them will have some good effect perhaps in France, and if they should take the right turn, our
peace

peace will have the better grace to the world; but if they should not, I think we may render the terms of the treaty more solidly advantageous to Britain.

I am to dine with my Lord Treasurer this day, and I will not fail to speak to him concerning your money; I shall see my Lord Chamberlain at the same time, and to him I will speak about your plate.

This cursed easterly wind keeps the messenger, whom I dispatched on Friday was se'nnight, to the Duke of Ormond, with the letter whereof you have the copy, still at Dover.

This misfortune makes me a little disquieted in my mind.

I find the Queen continues in her resolution of sending for your Lordship over, as soon as she is ready to communicate to her Parliament, the general plan of peace.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, May the 3d, 1712.

I THIS morning received the favour of your letter of the 11th, N.S. from the Hague, and am very glad to find by what you write to my Lord Treasurer, as well as to me, that the Dutch are at last in a way of recovery from that frenzy, which their Whig friends communicated to them.

You are, Sir, an excellent physician, and I wish you as good success at Hanover, as you have had at the Hague. I fear you will find as much occasion of your skill, and of your strongest medicine.

By Tuesday's post you will have instructions on this head.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May the 6th, 1712.

WE expect at the end of this week, the answer from France. Her Majesty considers that upon this answer, her final resolution
must

must be taken, and she therefore judges it indispensably necessary that your Lordship should be here.

It will be some trouble to your Lordship to run backward and forward in so much haste, but we are at the crisis of our fate, and nothing must be neglected, which may contribute to procure a good event to this negotiation.

If the French agree with us, I believe your Lordship will return to Holland, fortified with the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament; and will carry such particular and positive instructions, as will shorten the work at Utrecht, and render this treaty more honourable, as well as more advantageous to our nation, than any that history records.

I beg your Lordship to be persuaded, that among all your friends whom you will find here, you will be embraced by none more sincerely nor more affectionately, than by,

My Lord, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 13^{me} Mai, 1712.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, & j'ai été bien fâché de voir qu'il y eut autant d'éloignement que vous me le marquez entre la proposition que vous m'aviez fait par ordre de la Reine, & la réponse que le Roi m'avoit commandé de vous faire ; faute de s'entendre, on a malheureusement perdu un tems dont tous les momens sont précieux, & présentement il faut avoir une nouvelle décision du Roi d'Espagne, sur un plan qui avoit été proposé dans un sens différent de celui que vous l'avez entendu.

Je vous avoue, Monsieur, que je craindrois que cette explication ne produisît de nouveaux embarras du côté de la Cour de Madrid, si le Roi n'avoit résolu de surmonter toutes les difficultés que sa Majesté pourra trouver, sur un article qui doit faire le fondement de la paix, & de sacrifier même les intérêts de sa maison, pour le rétablissement de la tranquillité générale. C'est donc pour applanir ces difficultés que le Roi fait au-

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jourd'hui

jourd'hui deux propositions au Roi son petit fils.

La première de renoncer, par le traité de paix, pour lui & pour ses descendans, à ses droits sur la Couronne de France, & de se contenter de l'Espagne & des Indes.

La seconde de conserver ses droits sur la Couronne de France, mais de céder en même-tems l'Espagne & les Indes à Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, & de se contenter en échange des états que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye possède aujourd'hui ; c'est à dire, de la principauté de Piémont, des Duchés de Savoye & du Montferrat, & du Comté de Nice, Enfin de conserver le royaume de Sicile, dont le Roi Catholique est encore le maître, à condition toutefois, que s'il parvenoit un jour à la Couronne de France, il conserveroit seulement les états appartenans aujourd'hui à Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, & qu'en ce cas le royaume de Sicile appartiendrait à la Maison d'Autriche.

Il seroit à souhaiter que le Roi put savoir, dès à présent, les intentions du Roi son petit-fils, sur l'une ou sur l'autre de ces deux alternatives, mais il faut nécessairement attendre

tendre le retour du courier que sa Majesté dépêche à Madrid.

Elle m'ordonne cependant de vous assurer, que le traité de paix se fera sur le fondement de l'une ou de l'autre des propositions ; c'est à dire, que le Roi d'Espagne renoncera à ses droits sur la Couronne de France, pour conserver seulement l'Espagne & les Indes. Ou bien, qu'il consentira à l'échange de l'Espagne & des Indes, avec les états de Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, aux conditions que je viens de vous marquer.

Vous devez donc, Monsieur, regarder ce que je vous écris, par ordre du Roi, comme la réponse finale que vous demandez, & qui doit lever toute incertitude sur la paix, ou sur la continuation de la guerre.

Il paroît, Monsieur, que la paix seroit encore plus certaine, si l'on convenoit d'une suspension d'armes présentement que, de part & d'autre, on peut espérer une heureuse conclusion ; mais il faut laisser à la prudence de la Reine d'examiner ce qu'elle croira de plus convenable au bien général, qu'elle souhaite autant que personne. Il seroit très fâcheux que quelque événement veut troubler,
pendant

pendant la campagne, les bonnes dispositions que l'on voit présentement au rétablissement du repos public.

J'espère que vous y donnerez bientôt la dernière main, & je vous supplie de croire qu'on ne peut vous honorer plus parfaitement, ni être plus véritablement, que je suis,

Monfieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monfieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 10me Mai, V.S. 1712.

J'AI reçu hier au soir votre lettre du 13me de ce mois, N.S. & ce matin j'en ai fait la lecture à sa Majesté.

L'Abbé Gaultier vous rendra compte des ordres que je viens dans ce moment de dépêcher au Duc d'Ormond ; la Reine se repose sur la bonne foi de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, & n'attend que la communication que le Roi lui donnera de la résolution qu'il prendra au retour du courier que vous avez dépêché à Madrid, pour faire toutes les déclarations nécessaires à conclure le grand ouvrage de la paix. Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Mon-

A Monsieur le Comte de Maffei.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 10^{me} Mai, V.S. 1712.

VOUS ne ferez pas surpris, dans l'état où la négociation de la paix se trouve, & dans la saison de l'année, de favoir que la Reine s'est déterminée à ne laisser plus long-tems des affaires d'une aussi grande importance que la continuation de la guerre, ou la rétablissement du repos de l'Europe, dans l'incertitude.

Le Comte de Strafford a reçu les ordres de sa Majesté de se rendre incessamment à la cour, il ne restera ici que peu de jours, & il apportera avec lui en Hollande des instructions décisives.

Dans une aussi grande crise, la Reine souhaite d'avoir auprès d'elle un Ministre de son Altesse Royale, dont les intérêts lui sont aussi chers que les siens propres; & elle m'a commandé, Monsieur, de vous dire, qu'elle croit qu'il est absolument nécessaire que vous vous rendiez ici, sans perte d'un moment de tems.

Comme vous devez retourner à Utrecht avec le Ministre de la Reine, & que, par conséquent, votre séjour à Londres sera très court,

court, vous ne vous embarrasserez apparemment pas d'aucun équipage.

La Reine ne doute point que son Altesse Royale n'approuve votre conduite, si vous avez besoin d'aucunes excuses, sa Majesté les feroit pour vous.

Je dois ajouter que la négociation étant comme suspendue à Utrecht, la Reine croit qu'il ne sera pas difficile de trouver des prétextes pour le voyage que vous allez faire. En tout cas sa Majesté espère que nous sommes si près du dénouement de nos grandes affaires, qu'il n'est pas d'une forte grande importance quelles impressions cette démarche peut former sur les esprits.

Je suis, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 10th, 1712.

YOUR Grace's letters of the 18th, N.S. came this morning to my hands, and upon them the little I have to say is contained in my public dispatch.

The occasion of sending the messenger, proceeds from advices which the Queen
received

received last night from the Court of France.

Her Majesty, my Lord, has reason to believe that we shall come to an agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies, as soon as a courier, sent from Versailles to Madrid, can return ; it is therefore the Queen's positive command to your Grace, that you avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle, till you have farther orders from her Majesty. I am, at the same time, directed to let your Grace know, that the Queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order ; and her Majesty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourself so as to answer her ends, without owning that which might, at present, have an ill effect, if it was publicly known *.

The Queen cannot think with patience of sacrificing men, when there is a fair prospect of attaining her purpose another way ; and besides, she will not suffer herself to be exposed to the reproach of having retarded,

* This order formed the principal article in Bolingbroke's impeachment ; it seems to be now generally agreed, that her Majesty determined upon the measure without consulting her Council.

by

by the events of the campaign, a negotiation which might otherwise have been as good as concluded in a few days.

I shall very soon dispatch another express to your Grace ; and am, with true respect,
My Lord, &c.

P.S. I had almost forgot to tell your Grace, that communication is given of this order to the Court of France ; so that if the Mareschal de Villars * takes, in any private way, notice of it to you, your Grace will answer accordingly.

If this order is changed on either side, we shall, in honour, be obliged to give notice of it to the other.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, May 10th, 1712.

THE letters of the 17th and of the 18th N.S. arrived this morning, and I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordships' joint dispatch.

The intent of this is to acquaint your

* Commander-in-chief of the French army in Flanders.

Lordships, that her Majesty has thought proper to send for the Count Maffei over, he has credentials to the Queen, and is therefore, of the three *, the only one we could well call for.

Her Majesty looks upon the great article to be so near adjusted between her and France, that she hopes my Lord Strafford, whose stay here will be extremely short, will carry back such instructions, as may enable him, in conjunction with your Lordship, my Lord Privy Seal, to finish that great and good work which you are employed in, to the advantage of all the allies, even of those who have, with the greatest obstinacy, opposed every step towards peace.

As the Duke of Savoy may be extremely concerned in the new settlement of Europe, according to the scheme which your Lordships are already apprized of, her Majesty has thought it absolutely necessary, to have his Minister here for a few days; and I inclose to your Lordships the letter which I write by the Queen's order to this Gentleman, as well as the copy of it.

* Ministers of Savoy; the other two were Du Bourg and Mellaredo.

Not

Not being sure that my Lord Stráfford will be at Utrecht when this letter arrives, I omit answering his private letter of the 17th.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 10th, 1712.

OUR letters from Holland arrived this morning, and late last night we received an express from Versailles.

These several dispatches have given us all so much to do, that I believe you will not have any thing from my Lord Treasurer by this messenger ; and I shall only tell you, that Couchman will be dispatched to you on Tuesday, with fresh instructions, on the manner in which you are to open the matter of peace to the Elector.

I am glad to find that the Whigs here do not guess at the true reason of your loitering in Holland ; few or none of them imagine that we are just ready to enable you to

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speak

ſpeak poſitively and ſatisfactorily of the peace.

I think there can be no diſpute but the act * muſt be preſented to the Princeſs Sophia, and notice taken of it to the Elector ; but the ſage Mr. Tiſſon † will adviſe you in this knotty point of form.

I confeſs, I begin to wiſh that the Dutch may continue ſtill dully obſtinate, rather than ſubmit to the Queen's meaſures, ſince we do not want them either to make or ſupport the peace, and ſince it will be better ſettled for England without their concurrence than with it. Does it not make your blood curdle in your veins, to hear it ſolemnly conteſted in Holland, whether Britain ſhall enjoy the aſſiento, an advantage which the enemy have yielded to us?

I am, for ever, &c.

* For ſettling the precedency of the Princeſs Sophia, of the Elector her ſon, and the Electoral Prince, the Duke of Cambridge.

† George Tiſſon, Under-ſecretary in Bolingbroke's office.

To Mr. Harley.

S I R,

Whitehall, May 17th, 1712.

I SEND Couchman with the dispatches of this day, and you will keep him or otherwise, as you shall think fit.

My Lord Treasurer tells me, that he is not of opinion that you should proceed to Hanover, till we receive the last answer which we expect on the article of Spain, and which cannot be here before the 30th of this month, O.S.

Thus, Sir, you perceive that as tired as you are of Holland, you are likely not so soon to leave that country.

France is so unwilling to lose the prospect of having Philip succeed to that Crown, that a new expedient has been proposed to them by the Queen.

We offer that Philip (evacuating immediately Spain and the West-Indies, and the Duke of Savoy taking possession thereof) shall have the principality of Piedmont, the duchies of Montferrat and Savoy, and the

Y 3

county

county of Nice, together with the kingdom of Sicily, which island is to revert to the House of Austria, in case Philip succeeds to the Crown of France.

Upon this proposition Monsieur Torcy writes, that the King has sent to his grandson, and that he promises her Majesty that the peace shall be built either on this or on the other alternative, viz. that Philip keep Spain and the Indies, renouncing all right to France, and consenting to the establishment of this succession, exclusive of himself and children.

You see, Sir, that whatever expedient be accepted at Madrid, the point of preventing the union of the two monarchies is provided for; but I ought to tell you, that we make little doubt but that the interest of France and of the House of Bourbon will prevail, and that by consequence Philip will choose to evacuate Spain. As soon as the choice he makes is communicated to the Queen, her Majesty will, I believe, lay as much as she thinks proper of the plan of peace before her Parliament, and what relates to the interest of our country, will be at that time

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determined,

determined. The Queen may then act the part of mediatrice with more glory than ever any of her predecessors did.

This, and this only, can render either the people you are with, or those you are going to, reasonable.

On the report which my Lord Strafford, who arrived here the day before yesterday, has made by word of mouth, as well as upon the contents of the latter dispatches from Utrecht, her Majesty is fully determined to let all negotiations sleep in Holland; since they have neither sense, nor gratitude, nor spirit enough to make a suitable return to the offers lately sent by the Queen, and communicated by the Plenipotentiaries; her Majesty will look on herself as under no obligation towards them, but proceed to make the peace either with or without them.

I mention this to you, because the rule prescribed to my Lord Privy Seal for his conduct, till farther orders, is, that he absolutely decline treating with the Ministers of the States, either on the subject of the amendments to the barrier-treaty, or of the general plan of peace, or on any other subject whatsoever.

Y 4

I believe

I believe you will take the hint ; and govern yourself accordingly and I wish you joy of the leisure you are likely to have.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 17th, 1712.

I HAVE little to say to your Grace by this post, and the less because my letter is not trusted to the conveyance of a messenger from Holland to the army. Yours of the 20th, N.S. I have received, and her Majesty is impatient to hear that mine, with which Barton was dispatched, came safely and early to your Grace's hands.

Her Majesty is glad to find that the Elector of Hanover does so much justice to your Grace ; and we all hope that this Prince will think his interest, and that of the common cause, best placed in those hands where the Queen shall think fit to lodge them.

The uncertainty under which Prince Eugene seems so uneasy, will not, I believe, be of a long duration, and the answer which your Grace gave him, was worthy of yourself,

Trus

True glory results from obeying the Prince one serves punctually, and promoting the interest of one's country steadily, in preference to all other considerations of private honour or advantage.

This maxim the Queen is assured that your Grace has at heart, and from hence she must be infinitely the more at ease in this ticklish and important conjuncture of affairs.

I am, my Lord, &c.

A Monsieur Marschalcb.

De Whitehall, ce 17^{me} Mai, 1712.

NOTRE ami Breton m'a fait beaucoup de justice en vous assurant, comme il n'aura pas manqué de faire, que je me souviens de vous, Monsieur, avec toute l'estime est toute l'affection possible.

Conservez-moi, s'il vous plaît, l'honneur de votre amitié, & foyez persuadé que je tâcherai, en tout tems de la mériter.

La Reine n'a jamais eu intention de communiquer aucune chose à son parlement, comme le bruit en a couru selon ce que vous me marquez dans votre lettre du 17^{me} de
ce

ce mois, N.S. Nous pouvons, je crois, nous flatter que cette communication se fera dans peu. Il s'agit de voir quel parti l'ennemi prendra sur le sujet du grand article de la réunion des deux couronnes.

Sa Majesté a fait à la vérité, Monsieur, de grandes avances pour renouer ces liaisons d'amitié & de confiance avec les Etats-Généraux qui ont subsisté depuis le commencement de son règne, & qui ne pouvoient pas être rompus plus mal-à-propos que dans la conjoncture présente. Mais vous ne devez pas là-dessus prendre le moindre ombrage. La Reine n'entrera dans aucun engagement qui ne soit agréable aux intérêts du Roi votre maître, & pour vous parler avec franchise, je ne vois pas que les Hollandois répondent à la Reine d'une manière à l'engager à leur montrer beaucoup de complaisance. Ces Messieurs ne voyent pas, même à l'heure qu'il est, que la Reine gouverne dans la Grande Bretagne, & que leurs amis de la faction sont également sans pouvoir & sans crédit.

Vous me demandez, Monsieur, si je crois que la négociation durera long-tems ? je vous réponds que j'espère que le Comte de Strafford

ford rapportera avec lui le dénouement de la pièce.

Dans ce moment un de nos couriers me remet votre lettre du 24me, N.S. ayez, je vous conjure, l'esprit en repos sur la conduite que la Reine tiendra à l'égard de sa Majesté Prussienne.

La paix ne se peut jamais faire du consentement de notre cour, sans qu'elle soit bonne pour tous les alliés ; mais la manière dont le Roi est entré dans les mesures de la Reine, engage sa Majesté de veiller à ses intérêts avec un soin tout particulier. C'est de quoi j'ose vous répondre, & vous savez que je me pique d'être homme d'honneur aussi-bien que votre, &c.

To Mr. Breton.*

DEAR WILL,

Whitehall, May the 17th, 1712.

I CAN yet have nothing of business to write to you upon, and therefore, you shall receive by this post no formal office-letter from me ; but as my Lord Strafford, who ar-

* Brigadier-general William Breton, Ambassador to Berlin.

rived

rived here the day before yesterday, tells me you are about this time proceeding on your journey to Berlin, I cannot neglect to send you by this private dispatch, my hearty and most fervent good wishes.

I am apt to think, you may find some little umbrage taken by the Prussian ministers, as if the Queen was entered into new engagements with the States-General about the barrier of the latter, which they will apprehend must be prejudicial to their pretensions on Gueldres.

You may safely assure them that there is no such thing, that the Queen has indeed done all in her power, and more than might perhaps have been expected from her, especially after some late transactions, to renew a good understanding with that republic; but that her Majesty will in no case enter into measures contrary to the King of Prussia's interests.

You may at the same time, to the King himself, intinate, that her Majesty's condescensions have not met with very suitable returns from the States.

Perhaps some affected confidence of this kind, may give you occasion to dive into

the intrigue which has been carrying on in the North, and which the Court of Berlin have certainly had their share of.

I am got into business before I was aware, though when I began my letter I thought of none, and therefore Mr. Harrison is directed to take the safest method of sending this after you.

Dear Sir, adieu; may health of body, peace of mind, and every other sort of happiness, be your perpetual lot.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 24th, 1712.

YOUR Lordship will give me leave to trouble you with a private letter at this time, when there is so little matter for a public dispatch. Our negotiation is, in some sort, suspended till we know in form and peremptorily, which of the alternatives proposed will be adhered to at Madrid, and this communication we expect to receive on Thursday, or Friday next at farthest. In the mean while, to forward every thing as much as possible, I inform Monsieur de Torcy, by
her

her Majesty's command, of the points to which she desires the King's assent, as necessary to enable her, and to induce her Parliament, to make such declarations as will effectually secure the success of our negotiation.

The copy of my letter to him, and of the memorial inclosed in it*, will sufficiently apprise your Lordship of the Queen's views.

Last night, the Count de Maffei met, at the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings, at Kensington, with the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Dartmouth, and myself. We there opened to him, according to the Queen's directions, the expedient which has been offered, and which we hope will be accepted, by which his master is to succeed immediately to the throne of Spain and the Indies, your Lordship easily judges how he received the overture, and the expectations which were given him.

The impatience for peace here, is at least equal to the want we lie under of it, and I believe an indifferent one would be welcome.

* The following letter and memorial.

The

The Whigs seem to have flattered themselves, that our treaty with France is at a stand ; they exult not a little in that belief, and for my part, I am pleased that they do so. If we receive the answer we almost depend upon, the surprize of mankind will add to the Queen's triumph, and the enemy's confusion. I am, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 24^{me} Mai, V.S. 1712.

PAR le rapport que le Comte de Strafford, qui vient d'arriver depuis peu de jours à la cour, a fait à la Reine, tant de l'état de la négociation d'Utrecht, que de la situation de l'esprit dans laquelle il a laissé les ministres des puissances alliées, sa Majesté s'est confirmée dans la pensée, qu'elle avoit auparavant eu, que pour parvenir à la paix générale, il est devenu nécessaire qu'elle se déclare d'une autre manière qu'elle a fait jusques-ici.

Vous savez déjà, Monsieur, que la Reine ne pourra pas se dispenser de donner la communication qu'elle a promise à son Parlement,

ment, touchant la négociation de la paix, d'abord qu'elle recevra la décision du Roi Philippe. C'est aussi le tems dans lequel il faudra, ou que la négociation soit absolument rompue, où que la Reine se trouve en état de la conduire à une heureuse fin, malgré toutes les oppositions qu'on y pourra apporter.

C'est pourquoi, Monsieur, j'ai ordre de la Reine de vous communiquer les démarches qu'elle est résolue de faire ; pourvu que le Roi Très Chrétienne veuille les lui rendre praticables.

Sa Majesté déclarera à son Parlement, & à tous ses alliés, premièrement, qu'elle est convenue avec le Roi Très Chrétienne, des intérêts de la Grande Bretagne.

Secondement qu'elle regarde ceux des autres puissances engagées dans la guerre avec elle, comme faciles à être ajustés, puisque le Roi offre à la plupart d'entre eux, à peu près, ce qu'ils ont demandé, & à tous une satisfaction juste & raisonnable.

Troisièmement, qu'elle va travailler à l'accommodement de ses alliés ; & que pour prévenir toutes les traverses que les événemens de la campagne pourroient causer à la
négociation

négociation de la paix, elle est convenue avec le Roi d'une suspension d'armes.

Voilà, Monsieur, les mesures que la Reine m'a commandé de vous faire savoir qu'elle est de son côté prête à prendre, & vous trouverez dans le mémoire * ci-joint les con-

* Mémoire.

" Touchant l'Amérique-Septentrionale.

" Pour terminer toutes les disputes servenes à l'égard de l'Amérique-Septentrionale, la Reine propose,

" *Premièrement*, Que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne lui cède l'île de Terre-neuve, avec Plaisance, & les fortifications, artillerie, & munitions y appartenantes, les petites îles adjacentes, & les plus proches à l'île de Terre-neuve, comme aussi Nova Scotia ou l'Acadie, selon les limites anciennes.

" *Secondement*, Que les sujets de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne continuent de pêcher & de sécher leur poisson sur la partie de Terre-neuve qui s'appelle le Petit-Nort, mais point dans aucune autre partie de la dite île.

" *Troisièmement*, Que les sujets de sa dite Majesté puissent jouir en commun avec ceux de la Reine de l'île du Cap Bréton.

" *Quatrièmement*, Que les îles dans le Golf de St. Laurent, & dans l'embouchure de la rivière de ce nom, qui sont présentement occupées par les François, demeurent à sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, mais expressément à condition, que sa dite Majesté s'engage de ne pas élever, ou permettre qu'on élève aucune fortification dans ces îles, ou dans celles du Cap Bréton. Sa Majesté la Reine s'engageant aussi de ne point fortifier, ni laisser fortifier dans les îles adjacentes & les plus proches de Terre-neuve, ni dans celles du Cap Bréton.

" *Cinquièmement*, La Reine insiste d'avoir le canon & les munitions de guerre dans tous les forts & places de la Baye & des Détroits de Hudson.

" Touchant le Commerce.

" Comme il y a quelques difficultés qui sont survenues, & qui empêchent de mettre la dernière main au traité de commerce entre les deux royaumes de la Grande Bretagne & de la France, aussi-tôt qu'il seroit à souhaiter, à cause de plusieurs droits excessifs établis dans les dits royaumes ; & comme il est utile aux sujets de part & d'autre, que le commerce entre les deux nations soit ouvert & ait son effet le plutôt qu'il sera possible, la

Vol. II.

Z

Reine

ditions sur lesquelles Sa Majesté consent à faire des avances si importantes, & des déclarations

Reine anroit là-dessus plusieurs propositions à faire à sa Majesté Très Chrétienne; mais comme ces points pourroient être d'une plus longue discussion que la crise où nous nous trouvons présentement ne le permet, la Reine beaucoup plus portée à assurer le repos général, que ses avantages particuliers, se contente de faire deux demandes qu'elle croit ne pouvoir souffrir aucune difficulté :

“ Première, Qu'en cas qu'on ne tombe pas d'accord sur les points en dispute touchant le commerce, des commissaires soient nommés des deux côtés, qui s'assembleront à Londres pour examiner & régler les droits & les positions qu'on doit payer dans chaque royaume; & qu'on les ajuste de telle manière que par-là le commerce entre les deux nations soit encouragé & élargi.

“ Secondement, Qu'aucun privilège ou avantage, par rapport au commerce de la France ne sera accordé à aucune nation étrangère, qui ne sera pas accordé en même-tems aux sujets de sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. De même aucune privilège ou avantage par rapport au commerce de la Grande Bretagne ne sera accordé à aucune nation étrangère, qui ne sera pas accordé en même-tems aux sujets de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne.

“ Touchant la suspension d'armes.

“ La Reine consentira à une suspension d'armes pour le terme de deux mois à condition,

“ Premièrement, Que dans le dit terme l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies sera ponctuellement & entièrement exécuté, c'est-à-dire, ou que le Roi Philippe renoncera dans cet espace, pour lui & pour ses descendants, à ses droits sur la couronne de France, & consentira que cette renonciation soit insérée dans le traité de paix future; ou qu'il sortira d'Espagne avec sa famille dans ce terme, cédant ce royaume & les Indes à Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye; toutes conditions marquées dans ma lettre du 29 d'Avril (V.S.) & acceptées par celle de Monsieur de Torcy du 18 de ce mois (N.S.)

“ Secondement, Que la garnison Françoisse sortira de la ville & citadelle de Dunkerque, & des forts qui en dépendent, & que les troupes de la Reine y entreront du jour que la suspension d'armes commencera; & que cette place demeurera entre les mains de la Reine jusqu'à ce que les Etats Généraux ayent consenti

clarations si décisives. Comme ces demandes ont été dressées dans le dessein de faciliter le grand ouvrage de la paix, & non pas de gagner aucun nouvel avantage, la Reine se promet que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne y consentira.

Nous sommes présentement dans la plus grande crise où l'Europe s'est trouvée depuis plusieurs années ; & la réponse que je recevrai à cette dépêche, nous doit rendre ou la paix certaine, ou nous plonger dans les malheurs de la guerre ; car vous voyez, Monsieur, qu'il faut au retour de ce courier que la suspension d'armes soit ouvertement déclarée entre la Grande Bretagne & la France, ou que notre armée commence sans plus perdre de tems les opérations de la campagne. Au lieu de craindre le dernier, je veux me flatter que le premier de ces deux

consenti à donner à sa Majesté Très Chrétienne un équivalent pour la démolition de cette place, dont elle soit contente.

" Bien entendu que dans ce cas, sa Majesté Très Chrétienne sera obligée de démolir toutes les fortifications de cette place, de combler le port, & de ruiner les écluses de la manière que les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine l'ont demandé.

" *Troisièmement*, En cas que les États-Généraux consentent en même-tems que la Reine, à une suspension d'armes, il paroît raisonnable de leur accorder la liberté de mettre garnison dans Cambray du jour que la dite suspension aura son effet.

" A Whitehall, le 24 Mai (V.S.) 1712."

cas arrivera. *Les ordres qui ont été envoyés au Duc d'Ormonde, après l'arrivée du courier qui m'apporta votre lettre du 18me de ce mois, N.S.* aussi-bien que la résolution que sa Majesté vient présentement de prendre, est un, marque si essentielle de sa bonne foi, de son desir sincère de la paix & de la confiance qu'elle a dans sa Majesté Tres Chrétienne, que nous devons nous promettre que le Roi y répondra de la même manière, & qu'avec le repos général nous verrons revivre en très peu de semaines, la bonne intelligence entre deux nations qui peuvent être l'une à l'autre les amies les plus utiles, par les mêmes raisons qu'elles ont été les ennemies les plus redoutables.

La Reine me commande d'ajouter qu'elle espère, qu'en même-tems qu'elle recevra la réponse à cette lettre vous me donnerez part que le Chevalier a commencé son voyage.

Je suis, &c.

H. ST. JEAN.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 27th, 1712.

I RECEIVED last night the honour of your dispatch of the 4th of June, N.S. and am, in answer to it, commanded by her Majesty to acquaint your Grace, that the affected alarm and the clamour, raised with so much industry, both here and in Holland *,

* *Conferences about the Duke of Ormond's not attacking the Enemy.*

A la Haye, le 3me Juin, 1712.

“ Leurs Hautes Puissances ayant fait inviter tous les ministres présents des Hauts Alliés de se vouloir rendre à la chambre ordinaire du Congres, on y comparu; & après s'être assis péle-mêle, Monsieur de Broekhuysen, à la tête des Députés des Etats-Généraux, du Conseil d'Etat, & des Plénipotentiaires de l'état d'Utrecht, tant qu'ils en sont présents ici, proposa que la raison pour laquelle on avoit prié Messieurs les ministres des alliés de s'assembler étoit une lettre que l'état avoit reçu de ses Députés à l'armée, par laquelle ils marquoient que dans un conseil de guerre tenu le 28me de Mai, on avoit crû être en état d'attaquer l'ennemi avec beaucoup d'avantage, mais que le Duc d'Ormond s'en étoit excusé, déclarant d'avoir ordre de ne battre point; sur quoi on avoit demandé de lui, si, au moins, il ne pourroit pas couvrir avec son armée un siège qu'on feroit, mais qu'il avoit répondu de n'avoir point d'ordre d'aller en aucune manière offensivement; que l'état avoit lieu d'être extrêmement surpris d'une telle conduite, & particulièrement de ce que ce Duc refusant de marcher avec l'autre armée des alliés juiques à l'ennemi, & dans le point de le pouvoir attaquer, s'étoit déclaré ainsi, que sur cela leurs Hautes Puissances avoient ordonné à leurs Députés à l'armée de tâcher conjointement avec le Prince de Savoye, de porter le Duc d'Ormond à changer de résolution, & à concourir avec les autres alliés à tout ce qu'on trouvera bon & convenable pour attaquer l'ennemi, bien qu'on ne s'en promettoit pas un grand effet

upon what has so lately passed between your Grace, Prince Eugene, and the Dutch Deputies,

effet, que cependant on avoit aussi ordonné à l'Envoye de cet état à la cour Britannique de se plaindre de cette manière d'agir, & de prier que les ordres soient changés, afin que le Duc d'Ormond puisse concourir vigoureusement aux opérations de la campagne. En même-tems on avoit ordonné aux Plénipotentiaires de l'état à Utrecht, de s'en plaindre à my Lord Evêque de Bristol, ce qu'ils avoient fait hier avant midi; que celui-ci avoit voulu justifier au commencement cette démarche, mais qu'étant pressé par les raisons des Plénipotentiaires de l'état, il s'étoit à la fin déclaré de la manière suivante, selon les propres paroles de la relation des susdits Plénipotentiaires, qu'il avoit ordre de sa Reine de leur déclarer de la manière la plus solennelle, 'Dat dewyl haar Majesteit hadde gezien dat alle haare avances, aan den staat gedaan, so kwalyk waaren-beantwoord, en dat den staat over het werk van de vrede met haare Ministers geen concert hadde willen maaken, haar Majesteit haare zaaken alleen zoude moeten doen (1).' Que les Plénipotentiaires ayant répondu là-dessus, à la décharge de l'état, avec beaucoup de fondement, my Lord Evêque s'étoit roidi dans sa soutenance, & à la fin expliqué encore dans les termes suivans; 'Dat haar Majesteit zich niet achtte te wezen onder cenige obligatie, hoedanig die zoude zyn, ten regard van den Staat (2).' Outre cela les mêmes plénipotentiaires mandoient, dans une seconde lettre, que le dit Lord Evêque, dans une autre conversation, avoit déclaré, 'Dat de koninginne meende in staat en bevoegt te wezen, naar alle gedaane avances van de vrede te mogen maken, met of zonder den Staat (3).' Le dit Monsieur de Brockhuysen ajoutoit à tout ceci, que cette déclaration de l'Evêque pouvoit servir d'apologie à l'Etat envers tous les alliés, de n'avoir jamais fait aucune démarche, à l'égard de la paix, sans la communication de ses alliés, avec assurance d'y vouloir continuer toujours; que dans cet inci-

(1) That since her Majesty had seen all her advances to the States so ill seconded, and that the States would not act in concert with her Ministers, in the work of peace, her Majesty would attend to her own interest alone.

(2) That her Majesty should not consider herself as under any obligation whatever, with regard to the States.

(3) That the Queen considered herself to be in condition and under the obligation, after all her advances, to make peace with or without the States.

dent

puties, gives her Majesty no uneasiness whatsoever.

Her orders were founded on the most just as well as prudent considerations ; you have obeyed them with that firmness which be-

dent l'état, sous l'approbation des alliés, avoit résolu d'ordonner encore une fois à son Ministre à Londres de faire là-dessus de fortes remontrances à la décharge de l'Etat, qui n'a jamais refusé de parler & d'aller de concert sur la paix, avec tous les alliés, & que ce qui se passe à cette heure étoit contraire aux déclarations faites à Londres aux ministres d'état, & à celles des ministres de la Grande Bretagne faites ici, de sorte qu'on insisteroit auprès de la Reine à la révocation de l'ordre donné au Duc d'Ormond, & à ce que sa Majesté ne se sépare point de ses alliés ; finissant, le dit Monsieur de Brockhuisen disoit que cette communication se faisoit aux ministres des alliés pour apprendre aussi leurs sentimens & réflexions là-dessus.

“ Sur cela Monsieur le Comte de Sinzendorf prit la parole, & en se plaignant de l'incident arrivé, il loua la résolution de l'état, disant que pendant presque six années qu'on avoit traité sur la paix, l'Empereur & cet état avoit toujours été prêtes à écouter les propositions, & en dernier lieu d'apprendre les sentimens de la Reine, s'offrant d'entrer en tout ce qui pourroit aucunement être convenable, bien que même avec une cession d'une partie de ses droits, mais que jusqu'ici on n'avoit pas encore eu la moindre communication sur ce point ; au reste le dit Comte croyoit qu'on pouvoit écrire aux ministres d'autres alliés qui sont à Londres, de soutenir & d'appuyer le ministre de l'état dans sa remontrance, & que pour lui il étoit en pouvoir de le faire sans nouvel ordre de l'Empereur son maître.

“ Monsieur de Bothmar prit la parole après lui, & se conforma entièrement, offrant aussi d'écrire au ministre de son maître à Londres de concourir aux susdits remontrances. Les ministres du Roi de Prusse se déclarèrent vouloir faire fidelle rapport de ce qui se passoit, ne doutant pas de recevoir bientôt des instructions convenables dans ce cas qui sembloit presser, & que sa Majesté concourroit toujours à ce qui pourroit convenir à la bonne union des alliés. Les ministres du Roi de Pologne, de l'Electeur Palatin, de Hesse, &c. se conformèrent aux sentimens susdits, après quoi on se sépara.

comes you, and she makes no doubt but you will continue to do so.

The final orders which your Grace, with so much reason, impatiently expects, cannot be dispatched to you before Friday, and at that time I question not but they will be sent. In the mean time, my Lord, I am to let you know, that her Majesty approves of your Grace's proposal of taking the camp mentioned in your letter, in order to cover the siege of Quesnoy, if Prince Eugene and the States persist in the design of attacking that place.

You are my Lord farther to find the most plausible pretence you can of sending a trumpet to the Marechal Villars. You are to inform that General of the true state of this affair; you are to acquaint him, that we shall not continue long in this uncertain condition, since in four or five days you expect to hear from hence that the peace is secure, or to receive orders to enter immediately upon action, in both which cases, your Grace will not fail to write again to him. You are to conclude, by saying, that since this suspense will be soon removed,
you

you hope he will not oblige you to come to any action, either to defend yourself, or to join with Prince Eugene's army, which you must necessarily do if he is attacked.

This, my Lord, is the sum of what the Queen commands me to write to your Grace; to this I have nothing to add, but my sincere assurances of being, with the utmost regard, my Lord, &c.

May, 28, 1712.

THOUGH I had writ to your Grace last night, yet finding we were to have a battle in both Houses of Parliament this day, upon the very order given to you, I thought it proper to delay the express till the fortune of the day was declared, and the Queen was pleased to approve my thought. Your Grace will receive inclosed, the question moved by the Whigs in our House *, and the numbers both for and against it. You will likewise receive the address proposed by us, and carried without a division †.

* An address to her Majesty for the orders sent to the Duke of Ormond, and to order him to act offensively.

† Expressing a confidence in her Majesty's promise, to communicate the terms of peace before it was concluded, and they would support her against all persons, at home or abroad, who should endeavour to obstruct it.

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The debate was in the House of Lords on the same point; and we succeeded thereby a majority of 28; I may add, the spirit which was shown both above and below stairs, is more considerable, and a better omen, even than the majority by which we prevailed.

Your Grace will likewise have two letters for the Marquis de Torcy, that from me is open, and you will please to send them with your own to the Marechal, if the French and Dutch should be so unreasonable as to press on to a siege without your concurrence, and to refuse to stay so few days as you expect your final order in. I am, &c.

I mistook in saying two letters for the Marquis de Torcy, one is sealed for the Marechal, which your Grace will please to send with the other, in case you are obliged to send at all,

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 28th, 1712.

THIS letter serves only to inclose a copy of my dispatch to the Duke of Ormond,
and

and of that to the Marquis de Torcy, together with the result of our debates this day in the House of Commons.

The Lords were on the same proposition, and we succeeded there by a majority of twenty-eight. I think the spirit shown on this occasion, must convince every one, both at home and abroad, that it is a vain enterprize, to go about to force the Queen from the resolutions she has taken, and from the measures she is engaged in.

Van Borsele * has, I know, a letter from the States to deliver to the Queen, on occasion of what passed at the army, and of the declaration made by your Lordship at Utrecht; he will probably have his audience to-morrow, I am, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 27th, 1712.

MY letter of the 2d instant, will have given your Lordship the expectation of receiving, in a short time, orders of conse-

* A. Van Borsele, Lord of Geldermalsen, Ambassador from the States-General.

quence,

quence, and a commission very agreeable to you; I hope that, by the end of this week, the courier will be dispatched, and that you will find the issue of our negotiation to be such, as makes amends for all the pains taken, all the dangers run, for all the public reflections of some, and all the private jealousies of others, which we have been forced to bear, without answering the first, or undeceiving the last.

Count Maffei is arrived here from Utrecht, as the Earl of Strafford was some days before. These journeys occasion much speculation, and your Lordship will to be sure hear much of them, especially at the Court, to which I find, by your letter from Venice of the 20th of May, you was going; but the less is said on these subjects, by any of the Queen's Ministers, until the whole is ready to break out into the world at once, the better. Perhaps, the surprize may add to the merit, as well as facilitate the success of her Majesty's measures.

Though this part of my letter is writ in cypher, I dare not be more explicit, and I believe, I am enough so to give your Lordship

ship an idea of what is doing, and of what we presume is as good as done.

Your Lordship will have heard of a great contest in the House of Lords concerning a bill sent up by the Commons, which constituted a commission of enquiry into the nature and value of King William's grants, and which was looked upon as the first step towards the resumption of them.

In our House, an order has been carried for consolidating this act with one of supply, and it is not without much difficulty that we prevailed to dissolve this order, and to send the two bills separately from our House to yours.

The Court was obliged to endeavour to carry the act of enquiry; our Friends among the Commons expected this from us; and indeed, I am of opinion, that the grantees themselves would have found their account in letting it pass; my Lord Portland must be excepted, for the principal aim was against his exorbitant unmerited estate. We could have turned this matter so as to have saved our friends, and at little or no expence to have rendered these possessions as secure and valuable to them as their paternal fortunes;

whereas, the bill being lost, I am afraid from the spirit I see raised, that it will hang like the sword of Damocles, in the air, and perhaps sooner or later fall and do execution.

The Duke of Leeds was so much of this opinion, that he came warmly into the bill. I cannot express to you what a part my Lord Nottingham acted; his son voted for tacking it to the money-bill; and he, in the House of Lords, opposed it when separated from it. Your Lordship having very meritoriously a share in these grants, I thought it not improper to give you this account; and, at the same time, to let you know that your friends had taken the necessary care of your interests. I am sorry Mackenzie has been imprudent in the conduct of a matter which required the utmost caution; but the Queen will be able shortly to interpose with more weight and authority in this, and every thing else, than she has hitherto been. A duplicate of this letter is sent to Vienna, as your Lordship desires; either there or at Venice it will, I hope, find your Lordship.

I am, my Lord, &c.

P.S.

P.S. I visit Parson's Green very often, and have indulged myself in all those pleasures which shady walks and cool retreats inspire. There, wanted nothing but the master to make me willing to continue ever there.

A Monsieur de Tercy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 28^{me} Mai, 1712.

LA Reine m'a commandé de vous écrire cette lettre pour vous informer que les remontrances qui viennent d'être faites à sa Majesté de la part des Etats-Généraux, sur le refus du Duc d'Ormond ou d'attaquer l'armée de France, ou d'entreprendre aucun siège, n'ont eu autre effet que celui de faire renouveler les mêmes ordres au dit Duc. Mais en cas que le Prince Eugene & les Deputés de l'Etat, ce qui n'est pas fort vraisemblable, s'opiniâtroient à vouloir assiéger quelque place, quoique l'armée de la Reine n'y concourût pas, le Duc d'Ormond doit alors prier Monsieur le Marechal de ne rien entreprendre contre eux, & de ne pas l'obliger par-là à venir à une action.

Dans très-peu de jours nous recevrons

la dernière résolution de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, & la décision du Roi Philippe; là-dessus la Reine fera les déclarations mentionnées dans ma lettre du 24^{me} de ce mois, qui nous tireront de l'incertitude dans laquelle nous sommes; ou elle donnera ordre à son Général d'agir le plus vigoureusement qu'il le pourra.

Un délai si inconfidérable ne peut être d'aucun préjudice à vos intérêts: c'est pourquoi la Reine ne veut point douter que Monsieur le Marechal ne se croit obligé d'empêcher une action générale en ne pas allant aux alliés, comme le Duc d'Ormond en a déjà empêché, en refusant d'aller à l'armée de France.

J'envoie cette lettre à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, afin qu'il la fasse remettre avec celle qu'il a ordre d'écrire au Marechal de Villars, qui ne manquera pas de vous la faire tenir. Je suis, Monsieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Mon-

À Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 7^{me} Juin, V.S. 1712.

JE vous écris cette lettre à part, pour vous répéter qu'on ne peut pas prendre plus de confiance que la Reine fait dans la bonne foi de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne.

Elle envisage cette confiance réciproque entre les deux cours comme l'unique moyen de rétablir le repos de l'Europe.

La Reine regarde aussi-bien que le Roi, la suspension d'armes comme absolument nécessaire pour ôter aux ennemis de la paix, les moyens d'en empêcher, ou d'en retarder la conclusion ; mais, Monsieur, vous considerez, s'il vous plaît, qu'il n'est ni l'intérêt du Roi, ni de celui de la Reine que les choses restent, à cet égard, sur le pied qu'elles sont présentement. Il ne vous conviendra peut-être pas que le Mareschal de Villars reste dans l'inaction, pendant que le Prince Eugene fait le siège de Quesnoy, & il ne fera pas de l'honneur de la Reine que le Duc d'Ormond devienne un paisible spectateur de ce qui se passera entre l'armée de France, & celle des alliés, avant qu'il puisse

VOL. III.

A a

déclarer

déclarer hautement que la suspension d'armes est accordée.

Vous dites, Monsieur, que ce n'est pas une menace à faire aux Hollandois que de leur déclarer que les troupes Angloises garderont la ville, la citadelle, & les forts de Dunkerque; mais permettez-moi de vous faire observer, que c'en sera une que de leur déclarer que la Reine ne veut plus agir contre la France, que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne ne leur a laissé nulle excuse pour colorer leur opiniâtreté, & qu'enfin il faut qu'ils se dépêchent à faire leur accommodement, ou qu'ils courent risque d'avoir sur le dos un fardeau qu'ils ne sont pas en état de supporter.

L'Abbé Gaultier vous écrira sur le sujet du Chavalier.

Il ne me reste que de vous assurer que je suis, avec un très parfaite estime,

Monsieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

De

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 8^{me} de Juin, 1712.

J'EUS l'honneur de vous écrire le 18^{me} du mois dernier, que le Roi voulant aplanir la principale difficulté qui s'opposoit au rétablissement de la tranquillité générale, faisoit deux propositions au Roi d'Espagne, l'une de renoncer, par le traité de la paix, pour lui & pour ses descendans, à ses droits sur la Couronne de France, & de se contenter de l'Espagne & des Indes; l'autre de conserver ses droits sur la Couronne de France, mais de céder l'Espagne & les Indes à Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, & de se contenter en échange des états que Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye possède aujourd'hui, en conservant aussi le royaume de Sicile. Je vous marquai, Monsieur, que sa Majesté dépêchoit un courier à Madrid, pour être plus promptement informée des intentions du Roi son petit-fils, sur l'une ou sur l'autre de ces deux propositions alternatives; & qu'elle m'ordonnoit cependant de vous assurer, que la paix se feroit sur le fondement de l'une ou de l'autre.

A a 2

J'ai

J'ai vu par la réponse dont vous m'avez honoré le 21^{me} du même mois, que la Reine se reposoit entièrement sur la bonne-foi du Roi, & qu'elle attendoit la communication que sa Majesté lui donneroit de ses résolutions au retour du courier dépêché à Madrid : sa Majesté voulant alors faire toutes les déclarations nécessaires pour la conclusion de l'ouvrage de la paix.

Le courier porteur d'une décision aussi importante, est arrivé ; & le Roi d'Espagne a écrit au Roi, & déclaré bien précisément à l'Envoye de sa Majesté auprès de lui, qu'il s'en tenoit à la première proposition, savoir, de conserver l'Espagne & les Indes, & de renoncer, par la paix, pour lui & pour ses descendants, à ses droits sur la Couronne de France.

Voilà donc le principal obstacle qui s'opposoit à la paix, surmonté ; & la Reine verra, Monsieur, qu'elle ne s'est point trompée dans la confiance qu'elle a prise en la bonne-foi du Roi.

Sa Majesté attend présentement que cette Princesse aplanisse, de son côté, le reste des difficultés que les ennemis de la paix voudroient soutenir encore pour empêcher la conclusion

conclusion de ce grand ouvrage. Et comme vous m'assurez, Monsieur, qu'au retour du courier sa Majesté Britannique devoit faire toutes les déclarations nécessaires à cet effet, le Roi croit que la première & la plus pressante est d'assurer une suspension d'armes, ou générale ou tout au moins entre les armées mutuellement dans les Pays-Bas, & qui dure jusqu'à la conclusion de la paix.

Sa Majesté est persuadée que ce fera aussi le sentiment de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, les ordres donnés à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, ne laissant pas lieu de douter des intentions de sa Majesté Britannique.

Plus je vois de dispositions à la paix, & plus je desire le moment de pouvoir vous féliciter sur la perfection de ces ouvrages, & de vous assurer à cette occasion qu'on ne peut être plus véritablement que je suis,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, ce 10me Juin, 1712.

J'AI reçu ce matin, par le courier que vous m'avez dépêché, la lettre que vous

A a 3

m'avez

m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 24^{me} Mai...5^{me} Juin, avec le mémoire que vous y avez joint, & j'ai lu l'un & l'autre au Roi. Sa Majesté a vu, avec beaucoup de plaisir, les sages dispositions que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne a faites pour conduire au plutôt l'ouvrage de la paix à une heureuse conclusion. J'espère, Monsieur, que les résolutions de sa Majesté Britannique seront bien, secondées par la prompte décision du Roi d'Espagne, dont je vous envoyai la nouvelle avant hier, & que le courrier, La Vigne, comptoit de vous remettre aujourd'hui entre les mains.

Je n'ai donc plus lieu de craindre que la négociation soit rompue, malgré les oppositions que les ennemis de la paix y pourront encore apporter. Il semble qu'ils veuillent en tenter les derniers moyens, s'il est vrai, comme les lettres de l'armée en assurent depuis deux jours, qu'ils investissent le Quesnoy à dessein d'en faire le siège. Les ordres que vous avez envoyés à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond sont si positifs, que le Roi ne peut croire que la Reine approuve une pareille entreprise, & encore moins que ses troupes, soient employées à la faire réussir. Sa Majesté

jésti m'a cependant commandé de vous en écrire, & de vous demander, Monsieur, ce que fera l'armée de la Reine, lorsque Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars tentera le secours de la place, en cas qu'elle soit assiégée.

Vous voyez que si l'on ne convient incessamment de la suspension, nous pourrons nous trouver indispensablement engagés à quelque grand événement. J'espère de votre prudence & de vos soins, que nous l'éviterons, & que rien ne troublera la perfection d'un ouvrage aussi près de sa fin.

J'espère aussi que les réponses * que j'ai
l'honneur

* "*Reponses du Roi au mémoire envoyé de Londres, le 5me Juin,*
V.S. 1712.

" Article première, Sa Majesté consent de céder à la Reine de la Grand Bretagne l'île de Terreneuve avec la ville de Plaisance, fortifiée, mais l'artillerie & les munitions dont cette place est pourvue, en seront retirées, & ne seront pas comprises dans la cession qui sera faite de la place & de l'île, car elles ne sont attachées ni à l'une ni à l'autre, &, pour user d'une comparaison commune, on peut regarder l'artillerie & les munitions d'une place, comme les meubles d'une maison qu'un particulier emporte lorsqu'il cède cette même maison par un contrat volontaire. Les îles adjacentes à celle de Terreneuve, n'ont été ni demandées ni promises, par les articles signés à Londres, au mois d'Octobre dernier : comme ils ont servi de règle au commencement & au progrès de la négociation présent, l'intention du Roi est de suivre exactement cette même règle, comme la plus sûre pour parvenir à la conclusion du traité, & sa Majesté est persuadée que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, fidelle à sa parole, n'insistera pas sur une demande nouvelle, & qui ne se trouve pas dans la convention signée au nom de cette Princesse. Le Roi veut bien ajouter à cette convention la

l'honneur d'envoyer à votre mémoire, ne formeront aucun nouvel embarras, & que la Reine,

cession de l'Acadie selon ses anciennes limites, ainsi qu'elle est demandée par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

“ *Seconde*, Les articles signés à Londres réservent aux sujets du Roi la faculté de pêcher & de sécher les morues sur l'île de Terre-neuve; une disposition faite de gré à gré ne se peut restreindre ni recevoir de changement que ceux qu'on juge réciproquement être conformes à l'utilité commune. Sur ce fondement, le Roi offre à l'Angleterre de lui laisser l'artillerie & les munitions de Plaisance, les îles adjacentes à celle de Terre-neuve, d'entredire aux François la liberté de pêcher & de sécher la morue sur la côté de cette île, même sur la partie nommée le Petit Nord, d'ajouter à ces conditions la cession des îles de St. Martin & de St. Barthelemy, voisines de celle de St. Christoph, si, moyennant cette offre nouvelle, la Reine de la Grande Bretagne consent à restituer l'Acadie, dont la Rivière de St. George seroit désormais les limites, ainsi que les Anglois le prétendoient autrefois. Il est donc au choix de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, ou de s'en tenir aux articles signés à Londres, ou d'accepter l'échange que sa Majesté propose. En ce dernier cas, sa Majesté apporterait toutes les facilités qui dépendroient d'elle pour terminer, à la satisfaction de l'Angleterre, l'affaire de ce rançon de l'île de Nièves.

“ *Troisième*, Comme un des principaux fruits de la paix sera, s'il plaît à Dieu, l'intelligence parfaite que le Roi se propose d'établir entre ses sujets & ceux de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, il faut écarter toutes les propositions capables de troubler cette heureuse union; l'espérance n'a fait que trop voir, qu'il étoit comme impossible de la conserver dans les lieux possédés en commun par la nation François & la nation Angloise; ainsi cette seule raison suffiroit pour empêcher sa Majesté de consentir à la proposition de laisser les Anglois posséder en commun l'île du Cap Bréton avec les François. Mais une raison plus forte s'oppose encore à cette proposition, & comme on ne voit que trop que les nations les plus amies deviennent souvent ennemies, il est de la prudence du Roi de se réserver la possession de la seule île, qui lui ouvrira désormais l'entrée de la rivière de Saint Laurent. Elle seroit absolument fermée aux vaisseaux de sa Majesté, si les Anglois, maîtres de l'Acadie & de Terre-neuve, possédoient encore l'île du Cap Bréton en commun avec les François, & le Canada seroit perdu pour la France au premier événement qui renouvelleroit entre
les

**Reine, qui a reçu tant de marques de la bonne
foi du Roi, continuera de prendre la même
confiance**

les deux nations la guerre, que Dieu détournera pour long-tems ! mais le moyen le plus assuré de la prévenir est de penser souvent qu'elle peut renaitre.

“ *Quatrième*, On ne diffimulera pas que c'est par la même raison que le Roi veut se réserver la liberté, naturelle & commune à tous les souverains, d'élever dans les îles du Golphe & dans l'embouchure de la rivière de Saint Laurent, aussi-bien que dans l'île du Cap Breton, telles fortifications que sa Majesté jugera nécessaires. Ces ouvrages, faits uniquement pour la sûreté du pays, ne pourront jamais nuire aux îles & aux provinces voisines. Il est juste que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, ait la même liberté d'élever les fortifications, qu'elle jugera nécessaires, soit dans l'Acadie, soit dans l'île de Terre-neuve, & sur cet article le Roi ne prétend rien exiger de contraire aux droits que la propriété & la possession donneront naturellement à cette Princesse.

“ *Cinquième*, Le Roi veut bien par une considération particulière pour la Reine de la Grande Bretagne lui laisser le canon & les munitions de guerre qui se trouveront dans les forts & places de la Baie & des Détroits d'Hudson, nonobstant les fortes raisons que sa Majesté auroit de les retirer, & de les transporter ailleurs.

“ *Article du Commerce.*

“ Comme le Roi desire sincèrement que toute cause de division entre sa Majesté & la Reine de la Grande Bretagne cesse au plutôt, il lui seroit très agréable de voir terminer à Utrecht entre ses Plénipotentiaires & ceux d'Angleterre toute dispute sur le commerce ; mais s'il est impossible que les difficultés sur cette matière soient aplanies avant la conclusion de la paix, plutôt que de la retarder, sa Majesté consent aux deux demandes faites au nom de cette Princesse.

“ La première, de nommer des Commissaires, qui s'assembleront à Londres pour examiner & régler les droits & impositions qui seront payés dans chaque royaume.

“ La seconde, que la France & l'Angleterre s'engagent réciproquement à donner aux sujets de l'une ou de l'autre couronne, les mêmes privilèges & avantages dont elles favoriseront quelque nation étrangère que ce soit.

“ *Article de la Suspension d'Armes.*

“ Un terme aussi court que celui de deux mois, laisseroit aux ennemis de la paix l'espérance de pouvoir troubler encore

confiance en sa Majesté, sans insister sur des demandes qui ne serviroient qu'à marquer des

la négociation avant la fin de la campagne. Le Roi, persuadé des bonnes intentions de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, estime qu'il est du bien commun d'étendre ce terme à quatre mois :

" *Première*, Il doit suffire pour achever de surmonter toutes les difficultés du traité, la principale étant déjà levée par la résolution ferme que le Roi d'Espagne a prise de renoncer, pour lui & pour ses descendants, à la couronne de France, & de conserver l'Espagne & les Indes, & cette renonciation sera insérée dans le traité de paix.

" *Seconde*, Après avoir rétabli le recommencement & le cours de la négociation, sur la bonne-foi & sur une confiance mutuelle, dont on ressent les heureux effets, il faut en bannir la défiance & jusqu'à l'apparence de soupçon lorsqu'on approche du but, où, de part & d'autre, on s'est proposé de parvenir. Le Roi laisse à l'équité de la Reine d'Angleterre de juger si la demande de mettre garnison Angloise dans Dunkerque, pendant la suspension d'armes, n'a rien d'offensant pour lui, & si le public n'en regarderoit pas la proposition comme un doute de l'exactitude de sa Majesté à satisfaire à ses promesses. Elle sait que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne est bien éloignée de cette pensée, ayant reçu trop de preuves du contraire. Aussi le Roi la considérant depuis long-tems comme amie malgré la continuation de la guerre, est persuadée qu'elle se désisterra d'une pareille demande, non-seulement inutile, mais capable de produire un effet entièrement opposé aux intentions de cette Princesse. Car il est certain, que l'objet qu'elle se propose, est d'obliger les Hollandois à donner promptement au Roi un équivalent des fortifications de Dunkerque, que sa Majesté promet de faire démolir. Il faut donc vaincre leur opiniâtreté, & leur faire voir, que s'ils persistent, le dommage en tombera sur eux. Mais ce n'est pas une menace à leur faire, que leur déclarer que le troupes Angloises garderont la ville, la citadelle, & les forts de Dunkerque, jusqu'à ce que les Etats-Généraux aient donné au Roi un équivalent dont sa Majesté puisse être satisfaite. Elles porteroit seule la peine des nouveaux obstacles qu'ils fusciteroient à la paix, & c'est par des voies opposées-qu'il faut contraindre cette république à devenir plus flexible. Comme l'intention du Roi est véritablement de presser la démolition de Dunkerque généralement, sa Majesté propose qu'immédiatement après la signature du traité

de

des soupçons, dont je suis persuadé que le cœur de sa Majesté Britannique est incapable.

Vous pouvez l'affurer, Monsieur, que le Chevalier est prêt à partir d'un moment à l'autre, il ne reste plus que de savoir où il doit aller, & en quel lieu il fera en sûreté. Je vous avoue que je ne fais nul Prince qui veuille le recevoir, dans la crainte de déplaire à la Reine ou à d'autres puissances. Quelque explication sur ce sujet seroit abso-

de paix avec la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, un corps de troupes Angloises vienne camper sous Dunkerque, & que ces troupes, dont le nombre sera fixé, travaillent conjointement avec les siennes à raser toutes les fortifications. La condition d'en combler le port & de ruiner les écluses, dépend, comme le Roi s'en est expliqué, de la restitution que sa Majesté a demandée de Tournay & de Tournesif. Elle renouvelle encore le même engagement. La ruine des écluses causera celle du pays des environs de Dunkerque, amis & ennemis en souffriront également. Le Roi souhaiteroit d'épargner cette défolation inutile, que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne n'a peut-être pas assez considérée. Sa Majesté veut qu'elle lui soit encore exposée, quoique résolue à faire, sur cet article, ce qui conviendra le plus à cette Princesse, moyennant la restitution de Tournay & de Tournesif.

"*Troisième*, La paix est nécessaire à toute l'Europe, le Roi la desire comme un bien général, & sa Majesté regarde la suspension d'armes comme un moyen presque nécessaire pour y parvenir. Mais elle refuseroit toute suspension, elle romperoit même la négociation de la paix, si l'une & l'autre dépendoient d'admettre une garnison Hollandoise dans Cambray, pendant quelque intervalle de tems que ce peut-être. Elle ne consentira jamais à une proposition aussi contraire à son honneur, à son intérêt, & au bien de son royaume.

"Fait à Marli, le 10me Juin, 1712.

"DE TORCY."

lument nécessaire, & je vous supplie de m'en la faire savoir par l'Abbé Gaultier, si vous ne jugez pas à propos de me la donner vous-même.

Je suis plus que personne, & très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 6^{me} Juin, V.S. 1712.

JE vous renvoie La Vigne, qui m'a apporté votre lettre du 8^{me} Juin, N.S. dans laquelle vous marquez que le Roi Philippe s'en tenoit à la première proposition, savoir, de conserver l'Espagne & les Indes, & de renoncer, par la paix, pour lui & pour ses descendans, à ses droits sur la couronne de France.

J'ai aussi reçu votre lettre du 10^{me} de ce mois, en réponse à celle que je me suis donné l'honneur de vous écrire le 24^{me} du mois passé, V.S.

La Reine, Monsieur, m'a commandé de vous faire savoir, que quoique votre dernier mémoire n'ai pas répondu, selon son

attente, aux demandes que je vous ai fait ; sa Majesté n'a pas laissé de se rendre aujourd'hui au Parlement, & de lui faire toutes les déclarations nécessaires pour rendre cette nation unanimement portée à la paix, & pour ôter à tous ceux qui en ont l'inclination, le pouvoir de plus traverser la conclusion de notre grand ouvrage.

La Reine n'a point parlé aux deux Chambres de la suspension d'armes, mais elle m'a commandé de vous communiquer là-dessus, & sur quoi ses résolutions sont fondées.

Le commencement & le cours de cette négociation ont été établis sur la bonne foi de part & d'autre : la Reine se repose entièrement sur celle du Roi ; elle croit lui en avoir donné des preuves, elle est prête à lui donner des nouvelles ; mais il y a des certains cas, où entre les parens les plus proches, entre les amis les plus intimes, la prudence demande qu'on prenne toutes les précautions les plus exactes.

L'expédient pour prévenir la réunion des deux monarchies de France & d'Espagne, est le point capital de notre négociation ; & sa Majesté se départiroit plutôt de tous ceux
dont

dont nous sommes convenus, que de laisser celui-ci dans l'incertitude.

Elle en est réponsable à ses peuples, à ses alliés, au siècle présent, & à la postérité.

Sur ce fondement, Monsieur, la Reine espère que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne ne trouvera rien offénant dans les demandes qu'elle se trouve obligée de renouveler, & qui sont contenues dans le mémoire ci-joint *.

Je

* *“ Articles proposés par sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne pour une suspension d'armes entre les armées qui sont présentement dans les Pays-Bas.*

“ *Article premier, La Reine consentira à une suspension d'armes pour le terme de deux mois, lesquels pourront être prolongés à trois ou à quatre mois,*

“ *Seconde, Pendant le terme de cette suspension, on tâchera de conclure le traité de la paix générale ; au moins l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies sera ponctuellement exécuté ; c'est à dire, le Roi Philippe renoncera dans cet espace de tems, dans toutes les formes, pour lui & pour ses descendans, à la couronne de France ; cette renonciation sera acceptée par le Roi Très Chrétien, & ratifiée de la manière la plus solennelle par les états du royaume de France. La succession à la dite couronne sera déclarée & adjugée après le Dauphin & ses descendans à Monseigneur le Duc de Berry & ses descendans, & successivement aux autres Princes de la Maison de Bourbon, à l'exclusion absolue du Roi Philippe & des siens.*

“ *Le Duc de Berry & le Duc d'Orléans renonceront, pour eux & pour leurs enfans, à tout droit sur la couronne d'Espagne ; les états de ce royaume accepteront & consentiront à cette renonciation, de la manière qu'il conviendra (1).*

“ *Toutes les parties ci-dessus mentionnées conviendront, par des actes authentiques, de reconnoître pour successeur à*

(1) N.B. Voyez la lettre de Monsieur de Torcy, écrite de Marli, le 8me Avril.

Je dépêche un courier à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormonde avec la copie de ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous communiquer. En cas que le Roi trouve à propos d'accorder ce que la Reine demande, vous n'aurez, Monsieur, qu'à signer ces articles, & les envoyer à ce Général, qui, en même-tems qu'il prendra possession de Dunkerque, déclarera

la couronne d'Espagne après le Roi Philippe & ses descendants, le Prince dont on tombera d'accord dans le traité de la paix future.

" *Troisième*, La garnison Françoisse sortira de la ville & citadelle de Dunkerque, & des forts qui en dépendent, & les troupes de la Reine y entreront du jour que la suspension d'armes commencera ; & cette place demeurera entre les mains de la Reine, jusqu'à ce que les Etats-Généraux aient consenti à donner à sa Majesté Très Chrétienne un équivalent pour la démolition de cette place, dont elle soit contente. Bien entendu que dans ce cas, sa Majesté Très Chrétienne sera obligée de démolir toutes les fortifications de cette place, de combler le port, & de ruiner les écluses, de la manière que les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine l'ont demandé.

" *Quatrième*, Comme les demandes de la Reine n'ont pour objet que d'avoir une espèce de gage pour assurer l'exécution de l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies, sa Majesté ne prétend pas en aucun façon se mêler ni troubler le gouvernement civil de la ville de Dunkerque ; mais au contraire, elle m'ordonne de promettre de sa part, qu'elle donnera tous les ordres qui seront nécessaires, afin que toutes les choses demeurent & soient sur le même pied qu'elles sont actuellement ; que les vaisseaux du Roi, & ceux des particuliers, auront la liberté de sortir & d'entrer dans le port toutes les fois qu'il leur conviendra, sans qu'on les en puisse empêcher sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être ; & que tous les vaisseaux du Roi, & autres appartenants aux particuliers, & tous leurs effets, seront autant en sûreté qu'ils sont présentement.

" Fait à Whitehall, ce 6me Juin (V.S.) 1712.

" H. St. JEAN."

aux

aux alliés qu'il a ordre de ne plus agir contre la France.

Le Comte de Strafford partira dès le commencement de la semaine prochaine pour se rendre à Utrecht : les instructions qu'il portera avec lui mettront les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine en état de ne plus garder les mesures, aux quelles ils ont été jusqu'ici obligés de se soumettre. Ils pourront dorénavant se joindre ouvertement à ceux de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, pour donner la loi à tous ceux qui ne voudront pas se soumettre à des conditions justes & raisonnables. C'est aussi ce qu'ils ne manqueront pas de faire, & c'est par ce moyen que nous pourrons en peu de tems parvenir à la fin de tous nos travaux.

Je vous dépêcherai un autre courier dans le tems que le Comte de Strafford quittera la cour, pour vous informer des ordres dont il sera chargé. Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

Je ne doute point que la paix ne se puisse faire à-peu-près sur le plan que l'Abbé Gaultier nous a apporté.

To

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June the 7th, 1712.

ALL your Grace's letters are come safe to my hands, and have been laid before her Majesty. I am now to answer such parts of them as I have received the Queen's orders upon.

The first point I am to mention, is the satisfaction with which her Majesty hears the account of that exact obedience which your Grace has paid to her orders.

The Queen commanded me particularly to take this notice to you, and to express her confidence that you will proceed in the same manner.

Inclosed, your Grace will receive copies of two letters, and a memorial, which will be dispatched this day to the Marquis de Torcy. They have been prepared by the Queen's order, in answer to the last express which came from France, and you will perceive by them, my Lord, that her Majesty insists on the execution of the article relating to Spain, and on the delivery of Dunkirk, as points without which she will not declare

VOL. II.

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for

for a cessation of arms in the Netherlands. At the same time your Grace will find that her Majesty is positively resolved to continue no longer on the present foot. This matter, therefore, is now brought to a very short issue. If these conditions are accepted, and sent signed by Monsieur de Torcy, and Dunkirk put into your possession, you are publicly to own, that you can no longer act against the French. If they are not consented to, you are entirely free from restraint, and at liberty to take all reasonable measures that are in your power for annoying the enemy.

My Lord Strafford will be going hence in the beginning of next week, and we hope he will find the Dutch become more tractable than hitherto they have been; in which case the Queen will do her utmost to settle the terms of a cessation, and a peace too, in the best manner for them. It is with the greatest regret, that her Majesty finds herself constrained to come to such extremities with her allies. But what remedy has she left, when either she must follow this course, or submit to be used worse than any petty Prince, and have the
negociation

negociation wrested out of her hands, for no other reason, but because some benefit is likely to accrue to her subjects by the peace?

I observe by your Grace's letters, that you have been pressed, I may say indecently, to give an account what orders you had received. The Dutch Minister questioned me in much the same manner, but I answered him, by demanding what the private instructions are which the States have given to their Deputies and Generals.

It is probable that Mareschal de Villars may receive the orders which will be sent him from Versailles, within a day after this letter may come to your hands. Your Grace will therefore lose no time in acquainting him, that you are in expectation of receiving from his court that which must determine your proceedings; and that, according to the King's resolution, you are either to look upon yourselves on both sides as freed from any restrictive orders, and in full liberty of acting against each other, or that you are openly to declare for a cessation, whilst the best means possible are used to prevail on the rest of the allies to do the same; but the

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Queen's

Queen's declaration, however, is to be positive.

Your Grace is, to be sure, informed of the endeavours used by the States to debauch the troops in her Majesty's pay from her, and to borrow money for carrying on their subsistence. She makes no doubt but your Grace is on your guard, and that you will take the best precaution to make them steady to her Majesty's interest, and to prevent any surprize. I shall not fail to let the several Ministers know, in what manner the Queen will resent any step of this kind; and I believe your Grace will do well to speak the same language to the Generals of the foreign corps paid by the Queen. Among other things, they will, I believe, reflect twice on the arrears which are due to most of them.

These, my Lord, are all the instructions which I am at present directed to transmit to your Grace, and these are of such a nature, that I lose no time in sending the courier away, though he for France is not yet gone. I am ever, my Lord, &c.

P.S. I forgot to say in my letter, and therefore I say it here, that in case France

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agrees with the Queen, and your Grace, by consequence, refuses publicly to act against them, I think the allies will have little reason to complain, since Dunkirk is something more valuable than Quesnoy, and since a town delivered up, is more cheaply acquired than a town taken by siege.

To Mr. Harley.

S I R,

Whitehall, June 7th, 1712.

I RECEIVED this morning, with my Lord Privy Seal's, the favour of your's of the 14th instant, N.S. from Utrecht.

Time has lain heavy no doubt on your hands; Holland is never, I believe, a very agreeable place to one of your temper, but in this ferment, it must be particularly disagreeable to you on many accounts.

Our whole attention has been given for several days, to the securing of the negotiation in the Queen's hands, which the grateful Dutch, and the honest Whigs (for the Imperialists are not worth naming) make so many efforts to wrest from her. At the same time, we have been working with

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France

France to secure a public suspension of arms, a private one being neither safe nor honourable to continue any longer. My dispatches to my Lord Privy Seal, and the papers from the office, will sufficiently apprize you how these matters at present stand. I am sanguine enough to believe, that all will go well, but surely never negotiation laboured under so many unnatural, as well as unnecessary difficulties.

I thank you for your intelligence from Amsterdam, and am glad to hear that Hop succeeded no better in his embassy *; this seems to be the utmost pitch that passion and rage can carry those people to, unless they should go, as some have been saucy enough to insinuate, so far as to attempt seizing the British troops in Flanders. The provocation indeed is great, the Queen treats for herself and them, when they refuse to concert with her; and this peace, if it takes effect, will contain some articles beneficial to Britain, I should have been glad you had specified who the Ministers are that consented to take their masters troops from the Queen; one

* To Prince Eugene, to concert with him the best means of gaining over the Generals of the auxilliary troops in the Flanders army, and to provide for their subsistence.

of

of them I can easily guess at. All I know is, that in this case the Queen may very justly think herself freed from all obligations of treaty, or of any other kind; and I think she will gain more by the breach, than she could by the union with such allies. I have informed my Lord Treasurer that you are alive; he received the news with much satisfaction. The House of Lords is this moment in debate on the Queen's speech, and his Lordship, while I am writing to you, may very probably be employed in wiping off some of the dirt, which that scavenger Wharton throws at him. I go to him from hence, and perhaps he may write to you by this messenger.

By Tuesday's post, you will receive your orders to proceed to Hanover, and you will have another letter for the Elector; what instructions her Majesty may think fit to send you, shall be sent at the same time.

I have ordered my brother to stay and wait on you to Hanover; I hope you will forgive the liberty I take, of putting the young fellow under your protection.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 11th, 1712.

I DISPATCH this messenger in haste to your Grace, with some additions to, or rather explanations of, the last orders which I had the honour to transmit to you. On the supposition that your Grace will receive, from the court of France, an acceptance of the conditions proposed by her Majesty for a suspension of arms; the Queen directs that your Grace should consider with yourself, how to take possession of Dunkirk, in the safest and best manner, and this not only with respect to the enemy, but to the allies. Her Majesty thinks it proper and necessary, that your Grace should likewise know of Mareschal Villars, what facility he can give on his part to your Grace in this matter, and how you may best obviate such difficulties as Prince Eugene and the Deputies may create.

What has passed lately here, makes the Queen so absolutely mistress of her own conduct, and cuts off to such a degree all hopes of breaking through her measures, that we
hope

hope to find, at the army and every where else, more ease and compliance than we have hitherto met with; but however, it is good to suppose the worst, and to omit no precaution in an affair so nice in its nature, of so great importance to the Queen's honour, and to the interest of her kingdoms.

Should the French not comply with the articles proposed by her Majesty, your Grace then understands yourself to be at liberty to act as if no restrictive orders had been ever sent you, and you will let the Marechal know as much.

I have time to add no more, but my assurance of being, with the utmost sincerity, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 14th, 1712.

MY former letters will have apprized your Lordship of the Queen's last declarations to France, about a cessation in the Netherlands; and with this packet I am to acquaint you, that France has agreed to our proposals,

propofals, making only one alteration, and one addition, which are not confiderable.

The Duke of Ormond, may, therefore, probably make a detachment to take poffeffion of Dunkirk; and, in that cafe, the alarm will not be feigned, but real on the part of the Dutch: a pledge given to the Queen and none to them, and that pledge, Dunkirk, will, I fuppofe, be a morfel of hard digeffion. They have, however, no reason to make complaints againft any, but their Whig allies; deluded by whom into falfe hopes of breaking her Majefty's meafures, they are likely to fuffer in reputation, and perhaps otherways.

Give me leave to congratulate with your Lordfhip on the prefent happy fituation of affairs, and on the figure which our miftrefs makes; who from a ftate of fubjection to her allies, is come to give them the law, and to carry the fate of Europe in her hand; who obliges France to enter into engagements, and to give pledges to her, and is herfelf under none to France.

I hope the proceedings of our Houfes of Parliament, and the furrendering of Dunkirk into her Majefty's hands, will effectually undeceive

undeceive the States, and humble their pride; in which case, the Queen will do her utmost for them; and although the ambitious views which they have proposed of late years to themselves, will not be answered, yet much more will come to their share than they had reason to expect, or was ever intended for them, even by the late King.

Left any difficulty should arise, to oppose the Duke of Ormond's taking possession of Dunkirk, we are, *à la fourdine*, getting some few battalions and ships ready, to do it from hence, and perhaps this had been the best method we could have resolved upon at first.

Many reports have come to me, like those contained in the letter writ to your Lordship from Amsterdam; and although I can very easily believe, that such extremities may have been thought of, yet I confess, I cannot apprehend that the projectors will dare to attempt to execute what they contrive. It is however good to be on one's guard, and in so critical a conjuncture, the Queen's servants cannot be too vigilant.

I am, with sincere respect, my Lord, &c,

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 14th, 1712.

THOUGH my letter is short, yet I thought the importance of it deserved to have a messenger dispatched on purpose.

Your Grace has seen what I writ by the Queen's order to France, on the subject of the cessation ; the courier returned last night, and her Majesty's demands are complied with to her satisfaction. If therefore, my Lord, your Grace has any difficulties, as we foresee several which may arise, in taking possession of Dunkirk, you may keep your army entire, and our measures are ready here for sending over troops for that service.

Nothing can be more dreadful to the Dutch, than this town in English hands. Consider, therefore, the temper they are in, and if you are likely to have the least disturbance on this account, keep the secret, send your accounts to the Queen, and, in the mean time, the troops shall be ready to enter the place from hence. We will find means of concerting things so, that your declaration for a suspension shall be
exactly

exactly timed with the evacuation of Dunkirk. We expect impatiently to hear from you. Monsieur de Torcy having sent me word, that he dispatched copies to your Grace of what he writ to me.

If you have taken possession, well; if you have not, we shall be able to do it from hence; and, perhaps, in the ferment, you had better lie still, and let Dunkirk be possessed first, and the clamour happen afterwards. On your next letters, we shall take our measures; I hope they may come to-morrow. I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 20th, 1712.

THE instructions necessary, in this critical conjuncture, to be given to your Grace, are such as her Majesty has thought to deserve sending the Earl of Strafford on purpose to the army. He will set out to-morrow, and make all possible haste to your Grace, but in the mean time, I thought it expedient to send Smith back to you with this notice; and the account of what has been done
here

here upon your letters, and the dispatch received at the same time from the Marquis de Torcy. Besides what you will find in my letter* to this Minister, I told the gentlemen who were with me this morning, that the Queen would look upon herself as acquitted from all obligations of arrears of subsidies or pay, to that Prince whose troops should refuse to obey your orders without hesitation, and that your Grace would be directed on the receipt of my letter, to declare as much to them, and to require a positive answer from them. And as your Grace will be more fully apprized of the measure you are to observe on the Earl of Strafford's arrival, and on the account you shall receive from France, so I believe the best use you can make of the intermediate time, will be to continue vigilantly on your guard, and to speak in the plainest and most resolute manner to the several generals of the foreign corps.

I inclose to your Grace a state of the several troops, by which you will see which are in the entire pay, and which in the joint pay of the Queen and the States; those

* Dated June 20th, 1712.

of

of the first fort must obey you in the whole, and those of the latter in the same proportion in which they are paid.

Your Grace will, I believe, think fit to give the Marechal * notice of the endeavours used by the Queen to subdue the obstinacy of those who refuse to obey; of the expectation you are in to hear from him on an express sent from hence to the Court of France, and of the Earl of Strafford's coming to the army with fresh instructions from her Majesty. Your Grace will farther observe by my letter to Monsieur de Torcy, that the Queen has altered her intention concerning the manner of taking possession of Dunkirk. She thinks that sending the troops from hence, will be a method liable to fewer accidents, than making a detachment from your Grace's army, or even marching with all the troops which will obey your orders to the sea. If, therefore, you receive an account from the Court of France, that her Majesty's last proposals are agreed to, and orders are dispatched for the surrendry of Dunkirk, your Grace will have no more to do than to declare the suspension between

* De Villars.

Great

Great Britain and France, and to keep the whole body which shall obey your orders entire, and to withdraw in the best manner which the circumstances you shall be in will allow.

As to the troops in the town and castle of Ghent*, I have no particular directions ; neither is it easy, in the present conjuncture, to give any. Your Grace will advertise them to be upon their guard, and I hope we shall soon be able to bring not only them, but all the rest of the Queen's troops out of that country.

Your Grace will excuse me for using another hand than my own, but, in the present hurry of business, it is impossible to do otherwise ; and I hope your Grace will not stand on the ceremony of writing with your own hand to me. I am, &c.

I need not caution your Grace, that the inclosed to the Marquis de Torcy, is fit to fall under the eyes of no person whatsoever but your Grace.

* The Duke of Ormond, upon his withdrawing his army from that of the allies, had been refused admittance into many of the conquered towns.—He then changed his rout, and aimed at the possession of Ghent, then the first town of the Spanish Netherlands.

[Mem.]

[Mem. The following was in cyphers, and inclosed in a letter to Mr. Harley, of June 18th, 1712.]

As little a fellow as Robethon* is, I have reason to believe that most of the ill impressions which have been given at that Court, have chiefly come from him ; and as I know him to be mercenary, I doubt not but he has found his account in this his management. You will observe him particularly, and endeavour to counterwork his insinuations with the Elector and his minister.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 22me Juin, 1712.

J'É reçus hier, par le courier que vous m'avez renvoyé, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 6me de ce mois, V.S. & le mémoire contenant les articles proposés par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, pour une suspension d'armes entre les armées qui sont présentement dans les Pays-Bas.

* A Frenchman, who has worked his way into the councils of the Elector.

J'ai lu au Roi ce mémoire & votre lettre, & je vous assure, Monsieur, qu'il falloit toute la considération, & tous les égards, que sa Majesté a pour les demandes de la Reine, pour faire passer l'article de Dunkerque, de la manière que vous persistez à le demander ; mais il n'y a pas moyen de résister aux instances d'une grande Princesse, qui déclare aussi hautement ses sentimens pour le rétablissement du repos général de l'Europe ; & quoique vous marquiez avec beaucoup de raison, qu'il y a des cas où la prudence demande qu'on prenne les précautions les plus exactes entre les parens les plus proches, & entre les amis les plus intimes, cette maxime si sage & si vrai, cède au desir sincère que le Roi a d'obliger une Reine que sa Majesté ne peut encore traiter publiquement comme amie, quoiqu'elle ait déjà pour cette Princesse les sentimens que l'amitié la plus étroite inspire, encore plus que les liaisons du sang. Ainsi, Monsieur, le Roi consent à faire sortir ses troupes de la ville & citadelle de Dunkerque, & des forts qui en dépendent, à laisser entrer en leur place les troupes Angloises de la Reine, du jour que la suspension d'armes commencera, & à laisser

fer Dunkerque entre les mains de la Reine, jusqu'à ce que les Etats-Généraux aient consenti à donner au Roi un équivalent pour la démolition de cette place, dont sa Majesté soit contente.

Enfin, elle approuve le reste de l'article troisième, & le quatrième de votre mémoire, qui regarde Dunkerque. Elle me commande seulement d'y ajouter, que les officiers François, commis à la garde de ses magasins, tant de terre que de mer, demeureront dans la ville, & qu'ils continueront d'exercer leur emploi, pendant le séjour que les troupes Angloises y doivent faire. Cette clause est une suite de la parole que la Reine donne, de laisser toutes choses sur le même pied où elles sont actuellement, & de la sûreté qu'elle promet pour les vaisseaux du Roi, ceux des particuliers & leurs effets. Sa Majesté compte donc, qu'elle ne propose rien de nouveau en étendant un peu cet article.

Comme elle croit ne pouvoir donner à la Reine une preuve plus évidente de sa confiance absolue, sa Majesté lui déclare que ce seroit perdre entièrement tout le fruit d'une négociation conduite heureusement jusqu'au point de la conclusion, que d'insister sur la

clause de l'article seconde, qui porte que la renonciation du Roi d'Espagne, pour lui & ses descendans, à la couronne de France, sera ratifiée par les états du royaume. Les états en France ne se mêlent point de ce qui regarde la succession à la couronne ; ils n'ont le pouvoir ni de faire, ni d'abroger les lois. Quand les Rois les convoquent, on marque dans les lettres que c'est pour ouïr les plaintes des bonnes & fidelles sujets, & pour chercher des remèdes aux maux présens.

Les exemples des siècles précédens ont fait voir que ces sortes d'assemblées ont presque toujours produit des troubles dans le royaume, & les derniers états tenus en 1614 finirent par la guerre civile ; comme le Roi croit être assuré des véritables intentions de la Reine, sa Majesté est persuadée que cette Princesse cherche seulement une sûreté pour la renonciation, & qu'il suffit, par conséquent, d'en indiquer une plus conforme à nos usages, & qui ne fera pas sujette aux inconvéniens de l'assemblée des états, qui, n'ayant point été convoqués depuis près de cent ans, sont en quelque manière abolis dans le royaume.

Cette sûreté fera, Monsieur, de faire publier & enrégistrer, dans tous les parlemens du royaume,

royaume, la renonciation que le Roi d'Espagne aura faite pour lui & pour ses descendants, à la couronne de France. Les édits & les déclarations revêtus de ces formalités ont force de lois ; les François sont accoutumés à cet usage, il se pratique à l'égard des traités faits avec les puissances étrangères ; & l'intention du Roi est de faire, en même-tems, tirer & ôter publiquement des régîtres du Parlement, les lettres-patentes que sa Majesté fit expédier en faveur du Roi d'Espagne, pour lui conserver les droits de la naissance, lorsqu'il partit de France, pour aller à Madrid ; la révocation & l'anéantissement de ces lettres sera la suite, & comme une espèce de confirmation de la renonciation que ce Prince est résolu de faire de ses droits à la couronne de France pour lui & ses descendants.

Voilà, Monsieur, l'unique addition & le seul changement que le Roi veuille faire à votre mémoire ; l'addition regarde la permission à Dunkerque pour les officiers commis à la garde des magasins de terre & de mer, & je suis persuadé, qu'elle ne fera nulle difficulté. Le changement regarde l'assemblée des états ; permettez-moi de vous dire, qu'il

seroit également contraire à l'autorité du Roi, à la paix du royaume, au bien même de la paix générale, que nous nous proposons d'accepter cette proposition sujette à mille inconvéniens trop longs à expliquer ; & qu'il y a lieu de croire, que lorsqu'on a demandé l'assemblée des états, on n'a connu ni l'inutilité de cette précaution, ni le mal que leur convocation pourroit produire.

Le Roi envoie, Monsieur, à Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars, la copie de votre mémoire & des réponses, & comme sa Majesté accorde, dans le fond, tout ce que la Reine demande, elle ne doute pas que Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond n'exécute les ordres qu'il a reçus au sujet de la suspension. Elle compte aussi que ce Général déclarant qu'il a ordre de ne plus agir contre la France, empêchera d'agir non-seulement les Anglois, mais encore toutes les troupes étrangères qu'il a sous son commandement, & que les mesures seront prises de manière que les Hollandois ne pourront, comme ils s'en vantent, prendre à leur solde les troupes qui sont actuellement à la solde de la Reine.

J'espère, Monsieur, que lorsque vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire,

écrire, rien ne tardera plus le départ de Monsieur le Comte de Strafford, & que vous lui donnerez les instructions nécessaires pour se joindre aux Plénipotentiaires du Roi, en sorte qu'ils puissent de concert imposer la loi à ceux qui refuseront d'accepter des conditions de paix justes & raisonnables. Je vous supplie aussi de croire que je suis,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.*

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 22^{me} Juin, 1712.

VOUS verrez par la lettre qu j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, jusqu'à quel point le Roi porte sa confiance pour la Reine ; examinez, je vous supplie, non comme ministre d'Angleterre, mais comme étant d'une autre nation, ce que c'est pour la France que de remettre Dunkerque entre les mains des Anglois, avant que la paix soit faite, & sans autre assurance que celle de la parole de sa Majesté Britannique ; le Roi est persuadé qu'elle est inviolable, & sa Majesté donne une preuve

* Evidently a private letter.

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bien réelle, & bien évidente de l'opinion qu'elle en a. Mais encore une fois, Monsieur, permettez-moi de vous demander, si vous lui donneriez un pareil conseil, n'étant ni Anglois ni dans le poste que vous occupez ?

J'espère cependant que la paix fera le fruit de la résolution que le Roi prend, & une paix honorable pour la Reine & pour l'Angleterre. Je n'y vois plus qu'une difficulté, que je suis persuadé que vous aplanirez aisément ; car il est certain que l'assemblée des états, hors d'usage présentement en France, est inutile pour la fin que vous vous proposez ; qu'elle ne serviroit qu'à retarder la paix, non-seulement pour le tems qu'il faut employer à convoquer & à tenir ces sortes d'assemblées, mais encore par les troubles qu'elles peuvent produire, comme l'exemple des tems passés ne l'a que trop appris. Il est de la prudence d'éviter les longueurs & les embarras, quand on peut, par des voies plus abrégées, faire les mêmes choses encore plus sûrement. Rien n'est plus authentique que l'enrégistrement que le Roi propose, principalement quand toutes les puissances, intéressées au traité de paix, se-

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ront garantes des renonciations que vous demandez & que sa Majesté promet.

J'espère donc, Monsieur, apprendre incessamment, par le retour du courier, que la Reine, contente de tout ce que le Roi accordera, la fera aussi des moyens qu'il propose pour assurer la validité des renonciations, & pour les rendre solennelles suivant nos usages.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer une lettre de la main de sa Majesté *, & je me rapporte à ce que l'Abbé Gaultier vous dira sur le départ du Chevalier. Je vous supplie, en même-tems, de croire que je suis plus que personne, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

* Copie de la lettre de la main du Roi à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, le 22me Juin, 1712, à Marli.

“ MADAME MA SŒUR,

“ JE fais pour vous ce que je n'aurois accordé aux instances de personne, mais je suis bien aise de vous donner de nouveaux moyens d'avancer l'ouvrage de la paix; & je veux, en même-tems, marquer à tout le monde, la confiance entière que je prends en vous. Je ne puis en donner des preuves plus certaines, qu'en vous remettant, pendant la suspension d'armes, la garde de ma ville citadelle, & fort de Dunkerque.

“ Je souhaite que cette marque de mon estime & de mon amitié pour vous, jointe à la renonciation que le Roi d'Espagne fait, pour lui & pour ses descendans, de ses droits à ma couronne, acheveront de rétablir l'union parfaite, que je veux toujours entretenir avec vous, étant très véritablement,

“ Madame, ma Sœur, votre bon Frère,

“ LOUIS.”

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De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 27me Juin, 1712.

EN même-tems que je fis partir le courrier, qui vous aura remis la lettre que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire le 22me de ce mois, un autre courier fut dépêché à Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars, pour lui porter, comme je vous l'avois marqué, la copie de votre mémoire, & celle des réponses que je vous avois faites, par ordre du Roi.

Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars les ayant communiqués à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, ce Général lui répondit, le 25me de ce mois, qu'il alloit trouver le Prince Eugène, & les Députés des Etats-Généraux, étant obligé de garder des mesures jusqu'à la fin ; qu'il tâcheroit de les engager de quitter l'entreprise du Quesnoy, & qu'il leur déclareroit, en cas de refus, qu'il feroit obligé de retirer l'armée de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond ajoutoit qu'il feroit marcher le lendemain un détachement pour entrer en Dunkerque, & que la suspension auroit lieu conformément au troisieme article de votre mémoire. Il demandoit un

ordre en forme pour le Gouverneur ; enfin il promettoit de faire savoir les dernières résolutions de Monseigneur le Prince-Eugene & des députés des Etats-Généraux, aussitôt qu'il en sera lui-même informé.

Les ordres du Roi étoient expédiés pour laisser entrer les troupes Angloises dans Dunkerque, lorsque sa Majesté a reçu, par Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars, la copie d'une seconde lettre de Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, dattée comme la première, du 25. Il écrit qu'il revenoit de conférer avec Monseigneur le Prince Eugene & avec les députés des Etats-Généraux, mais que ces Messieurs ne goûtoient point les propositions qu'il leur avoit faites, qu'il avoit lieu de craindre que les Généraux des troupes auxiliaires, qui sont dans l'armée de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, quoique payées par cette Princesse, ne fissent quelque difficulté de s'éloigner de l'armée du Prince Eugene, sans des ordres particuliers de leur maîtres, & nonobstant un différent aussi essentiel à la condition fondamentale de votre mémoire, Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond persiste à demander que Dunkerque soit remis au Général qu'il enverra pour en prendre possession.

Aussitôt

Aussitôt que le Roi a vu cette lettre, sa Majesté m'a commandé, Monsieur, de vous dépêcher un courier, & de vous rappeler le titre même du dernier mémoire que vous m'avez envoyé ; il porte que les articles que ce mémoire contient sont proposés par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne pour une suspension d'armes entre les armées qui sont présentement dans les Pays-Bas, c'est en vue de cette suspension entre les armées actuellement dans les Pays-Bas, que cette Princesse demande que la garde d'une place, aussi importante que celle de Dunkerque, lui soit remise. C'est par la même considération que le Roi veut bien la confier à sa Majesté Britannique ; le motif de la demande, & celui du consentement, est le desir commun d'empêcher que quelque événement entre les armées ne trouble les dispositions que de part & d'autre on a mis réciproquement à la conclusion d'une bonne paix. Il faut pour parvenir à ce but que la suspension soit générale, & si les ennemis de la paix ont la force, les moyens, & la liberté d'agir, la condition sous laquelle le Roi veut bien remettre Dunkerque à la Reine d'Angleterre, n'est pas accomplie

accomplie de la part de sa Majesté Britannique.

Si vous répondez, Monsieur, qu'elle n'est pas maîtresse de la volonté de ses alliés, je conviendrai avec vous, qu'on ne voit que trop leur ingratitude à son égard, & le peu de déférence qu'ils ont à ses sentimens ; & c'est aussi par cette raison que le Roi ne prétend pas la rendre garante des résolutions ni du Prince Eugene ni des Etats-Généraux, mais sa Majesté a toujours eu lieu de croire que la Reine de la Grand Bretagne disposeroit au moins des troupes qui composent son armée, & si cette opinion eut été susceptible de la moindre incertitude, Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond auroit levé tous les doutes, en promettant, comme il fait par sa première lettre, qu'il déclareroit, en cas de refus, qu'il seroit obligé de retirer l'armée de la Reine sa maîtresse. Cette armée, suivant les mémoires que les Hollandois ont donné imprimés au public, & signés de vous, Monsieur, consiste en 65 bataillons & 94 escadrons. Le Roi a donc sujet de croire que toutes ces troupes doivent suivre absolument les ordres de Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond.

Sa Majesté auroit de plus lieu de prétendre,

tendre, que la condition de remettre Dunkerque aux troupes Angloises est attachée à celle d'une suspension générale entre toutes les armées qui sont dans les Pays-Bas. Mais elle veut bien porter sa considération pour la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, jusqu'au point de se contenter que les troupes qui composent véritablement l'armée de cette Princesse, suivant vos propres états exécutent les ordres de sa Majesté Britannique aussi ponctuellement que les troupes nationales d'Angleterre, & que toutes unanimement observent la suspension.

Si Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond borroit aux seules troupes Angloises l'armée qu'il commande, en vérité, Monsieur, je crois que le Prince Eugene, ayant moins d'égard à la valeur qu'au nombre des bataillons, se consoleroit de la séparation de l'armée d'Angleterre, & que demeurant seul à commander un grand nombre de troupes, il hazarderoit tout pour en venir à une action ; car il lui importeroit peu de sacrifier des gens qu'il ne paie pas, & qui ne serviroient sous ses ordres que pendant le reste de la campagne.

Jugez, s'il vous plaît, des suites qu'on en doit prévoir pour la paix, & si elles répondroient

droient à toutes les démarches que la Reine à fait jusqu'à présent pour l'avancer. Aussi, Monsieur, le Roi est persuadé que cette Princesse donnera, sans perdre de tems, des ordres bien clairs & bien précis à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond de retirer généralement toutes les troupes qui sont à la solde de sa Majesté Britannique, & qui composent l'armée qu'il commande actuellement en Flandres, aussitôt que ces ordres seront exécutés, & que les troupes Angloises & à la solde d'Angleterre, se sépareront & s'éloigneront toutes de l'armée du Prince Eugène, le Roi fera remettre, comme sa Majesté à promis, la ville, la citadelle, & les forts de Dunkerque aux troupes Angloises de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, conformément à la réponse que j'ai faite, par ordre de sa Majesté, à l'article troisième de votre mémoire.

Vous voyez, Monsieur, combien les momens sont précieux dans une conjoncture où le siège du Quesnoy peut produire quelque contretems fâcheux ; car il paroît que les ennemis veulent le presser plus vivement depuis la déclaration que Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond leur à faite ; j'espère donc que la Reine donnera les ordres nécessaires pour
achever

achever heureusement ce qu'elle a commencé, & qu'elle connoitra que ce seroit changer absolument le plan de la suspension que de la réduire aux seules troupes nationales d'Angleterre, après avoir déclaré qu'elle feroit entre les armées qui sont dans les Pays-Bas.

Je vous supplie de croire que je suis très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 20me Juin, 1712.

LE 14me de ce mois, V.S. j'ai reçu par la Vigne, vos dépêches du 22me du même mois, N.S. & je n'attendois que les lettres du Duc d'Ormond pour vous envoyer ma réponse. Ces lettres sont arrivées ce matin, & en même-tems votre courier m'a remis celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 27me de ce mois. Le détail que le Duc d'Ormond donne de ce qui s'est passé, est entièrement conforme à ce que vous me marquez, & je n'ai pas manqué de faire la lecture de toutes ces dépêches à la Reine.

Sa

Sa Majesté, Monsieur, me commande de vous dire que c'est avec le plus sensible déplaisir qu'elle voit que les ennemis de la paix trouvent encore les moyens d'en retarder la conclusion, en exposant la négociation qui nous y doit conduire à de nouvelles difficultés & à de nouveaux dangers ; mais comme sa Majesté a pris une résolution ferme & inébranlable de ne céder en aucune façon aux obstacles qu'on suscitera, & de continuer au contraire à travailler conjointement avec le Roi à rétablir le repos général, elle ne doute point que nous ne soyons en état de rendre inutile ce dernier effort de ceux qui voudroient acheter leurs avantages, ou satisfaire à leurs resentimens particuliers au prix de prolonger toutes les misères de la guerre. Je crois qu'après avoir fini la lecture de ma lettre, vous serez convaincu de cette vérité.

Je viens dans ce moment de parler par ordre de la Reine, à tous les Ministres qui se trouve présentement ici des Princes dont les troupes sont ou à la solde de sa Majesté seule, ou à sa solde conjointement avec celle de l'Etat. Je leur ai déclaré, au nom de la Reine, qu'elle regardera la conduite des

Généraux de leurs maîtres dans cette conjoncture comme une déclaration de ces Princes, ou pour ou contre elle, puisqu'il ne s'agit que de suivre le plan que la Reine a formé pour assurer la paix, ou de suivre celui que l'Empereur & les Etats-Généraux ont formé pour rompre les négociations. Que sa Majesté ne pouvoit se persuader qu'après y avoir encore une fois réfléchi, leurs Généraux hésiteroient un moment à obéir aux ordres du Duc d'Ormond; mais que je leur déclarois qu'en cas qu'ils le fissent sa Majesté ne fourniroit plus au payement de ces troupes.

Je leur ai fait entendre que le courier que je dépêche ce soir à l'armée portera les lettres qu'ils trouveront à-propos d'écrire à leurs officiers-généraux sur ce que je venois de leur dire; & qu'il étoit bien tems qu'ils prissent leur parti, puisque par le même courier, le Duc d'Ormond recevoit les ordres de la Reine, non-seulement de faire les mêmes déclarations, mais en cas qu'ils refusassent de lui obéir de mettre ces déclarations en exécution.

La Reine, Monsieur, se persuade que ce procédé peut à peine manquer de sortir son
5 effet;

effet ; mais elle me commande, en même-tems, de vous communiquer la résolution qu'elle a prise, en cas que quelques-unes des troupes étrangères persistassent à rester avec l'armée du Prince Eugène : dans ce cas, Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond se retirera avec les troupes Angloises, & toutes celles qui voudront marcher avec lui, lesquelles ne feront pas apparemment la moindre partie, & déclarera que la Reine ne veut plus agir contre la France, ni payer ceux qui le feront. Et sa Majesté qui jusques-ici a gardé des mesures avec ses alliés, poussée par eux à des extrémités comme celles-ci, se croira justifiée devant Dieu & les hommes en continuant les négociations ou à Utrecht ou ailleurs, sans se soucier s'ils concourent ou non.

Ainsi, Monsieur, vous devez compter, & j'ai ordre de vous promettre au nom de sa Majesté, que si le Roi Très Chrétienne mette la ville, citadelle, & forts de Dunkerque entre les mains de la Reine, quoique toutes les troupes étrangères, ou une partie de ces troupes refusent d'obéir aux ordres du Duc d'Ormond, & de se retirer avec lui, sa Majesté ne balancera plus à conclure sa paix particulière, laissant aux autres puissances

un terme dans lequel elles pourront se soumettre aux conditions du plan dont la Reine conviendra avec sa Majesté Très Chrétienne. Voici, Monsieur, la paix entre les mains du Roi, si toute l'armée du Duc d'Ormond consent à la suspension d'armes, notre premier projet sur lequel nous sommes d'accord a son effet ; si elle n'y consent pas, les troupes Angloises se détacheront de celles des alliés, & les troupes étrangères n'auront qu'à s'adresser pour leur entretien aux Etats-Généraux, qui bien loin de pouvoir fournir à de nouvelles dépenses, ne sont pas capables de soutenir celles qu'ils ont déjà sur le bras. En un mot, la Grande Bretagne se retire du théâtre de la guerre, n'y laissant que des puissances fort peu en état de tenir tête à la France ; & la paix entre ces deux royaumes peut être conclue en très peu de semaines. Ce sont, Monsieur, les propositions que la Reine m'a commandé de vous faire, & elle croit que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne trouvera son compte pour le moins autant sur le dernier, que sur le premier plan.

Si le Roi accepte ces propositions, il semble à la Reine convenable aux intérêts des deux nations de travailler incessamment à une suspension

pension générale, tant par mer que par terre, entre la Grande Bretagne & la France, pour suivre celle qu'on aura établie dans les Pays-Bas.

J'attendrai avec impatience le retour de ce courier ; car, Monsieur, je tombe d'accord avec vous que les momens sont précieux dans une joncture comme celle-ci. Vous dépêcherez, s'il vous plaît, en même-tems, un exprès à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, afin qu'il sache à quoi s'en tenir, & comment régler sa conduite. Si vous lui Marquez que le Roi a donné ordre à l'officier qui commande dans Dunkerque, d'y laisser entrer les troupes de la Reine, Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond fera immédiatement tout ce que je viens de vous dire ; & dans ce cas sa Majesté enverra d'ici quelques régimens pour prendre possession de la place ; par lequel moyen nous éviterons plusieurs obstacles qui pourroient être formés si cela se faisoit par un détachement de l'armée du Duc d'Ormond comme nous avions dessein de la faire.

Depuis que j'ai écrit cette lettre, sa Majesté a pris la résolution d'envoyer le Comte de Strafford tout droit à l'armée, & il partira

d'ici demain au soir, ou tout au plus tard
Dimanche matin. Je suis, Monsieur, &c.
H. St. JEAN.

*To the Honourable James Bridges **,

S I R,

Whitehall, 21st June, 1712,

HER Majesty has thought fit to order that payment should be stopt of all pay or subsidies to the foreign troops in her service, till farther directions, which you will be pleased to signify without loss of time to Mr. Sweet, and at the same time to direct him to issue no pay to any of the foreigners serving in the Low Countries, till he shall receive directions so to do from his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and from the Earl of Strafford, who is going away to-morrow, to the army in Flanders. The orders must be positive, and her Majesty expects they should be punctually complied with. My Lord Treasurer desires me to signify this to you, and at the same time to acquaint you that the messenger who goes to Holland, stays at my office for your letter, which

* Paymaster-general of the forces.

he

he is to carry with him. You will please, therefore, as soon as this comes to your hands, to write accordingly to Mr. Sweet*, and to send your letter to my office, that the messenger may be dispatched with it.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

H. St. JOHN.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 5me Juillet, 1712.

JE reçois par la Vigne la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 20me Juin, V.S. & comme vous attendez son retour avec impatience, connoissant combien les momens sont précieux dans la conjoncture présente, le Roi me commande de ne pas perdre un instant à vous le renvoyer.

Vous ne ferez pas fâché de le revoir arriver, puisqu'il vous porte un consentement général de sa Majesté aux demandes de la Reine, que vous m'expliquez par votre dernière lettre. Vous marquez, Monsieur, les ordres qu'elle a donnés à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, les déclarations qu'il doit faire,

* Deputy-paymaster to the army in Flanders.

& le parti qu'il prendra de se retirer avec les troupes Angloises & toutes celles qui voudront marcher avec lui, pourvu que le Roi remette entre les mains de la Reine, la ville, citadelle, & forts de Dunkerque, quand même toutes les troupes étrangères actuellement à la solde (ou seule ou conjointement avec celle des Etats-Généraux) ou bien une partie de ces troupes, se sépareroient des Anglois pour demeurer sous les ordres de Monsieur le Prince Eugène.

Ma dernière lettre contenoit, Monsieur, les justes raisons que le Roi avoit de prétendre que toutes les troupes étrangères à la solde de l'Angleterre, suivissent les ordres & les mouvemens de Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, comme une condition nécessaire pour l'exécution de la promesse que sa Majesté faisoit à la Reine de lui remettre la garde de Dunkerque; mais comme il paroît par votre lettre, que sa Majesté Britannique, en cas de refus de la part de ses alliés, ne veut plus garder des mesures avec eux, qu'elle se croit justifiée devant Dieu & devant les hommes, qu'elle ne balancera plus à conclure sa paix particulière, laissant aux autres puissances intéressées dans la guerre,

un terme pour se soumettre aux conditions du plan dont elle conviendra avec le Roi, que cette paix se peut conclure en très peu de semaines; & qu'enfin la Grande Bretagne, jouissante d'une paix glorieuse, laissera tout le poids de la guerre à des puissances que l'animosité fait encore agir contre la France, mais qui seront alors peu en état de lui tenir tête. Toutes ces raisons, aussi nettement expliquées dans votre lettre, qu'elles sont conformes aux sentimens de sa Majesté, l'ont déterminé à donner ses ordres pour laisser entrer les troupes de la Reine en Dun-kerque.

Le courier, chargé des mêmes ordres, part pour les porter à Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars, en même-tems que je vous renvoie la Vigne; & vous pouvez compter que Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond en recevra l'avis demain, 6^{me} de ce mois.

J'espère que Monsieur le Comte de Strafford pourra être alors auprès de lui, & que la conclusion d'une bonne paix, au moins entre la France & la Grande Bretagne, suivra de près son arrivée à Utrecht. Je vous en fais mes complimens, Monsieur, & je le fais avec autant plus de confiance, que je vois,
par

par votre lettre, qu'il ne reste plus de difficultés.

Le Roi approuve fort, Monsieur, la proposition que vous faites de convenir incessamment d'une cessation générale de toutes hostilités entre les deux nations, tant par mer que par terre. On ne peut assez-tôt faire goûter la douceur de la paix à des peuples qui souffrent depuis tant d'années le poids & les malheurs de la guerre. Il me semble que cette convention doit être signée à Utrecht, & je compte que vous enverrez les ordres de la Reine à ses Plénipotentiaires, à moins que vous ne jugiez qu'il y ait quelque moyen plus prompt pour terminer cette affaire.

C'est avec plus de plaisir que jamais que je vous assure qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je suis, Monsieur, votre, &c,

DE TORCY.

To

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 27th, 1712.

INCLOSED is a copy of the letter * which I received yesterday, from the Marquis de Torcy, and I suppose you had, about the same time, communication from the Marechal de Villars of the contents of it.

I am now to tell your Grace, that Sir James Abercrombie and Colonel King were last night dispatched to Dunkirk, to prepare every thing for the reception of the Queen's troops, and for the evacuation of that place by the French; and they will inform your Grace of their arrival there, and of their proceedings in the execution of her Majesty's commands.

Sir John Leake is gone to the Downs, where a considerable squadron of ships for this service is assembled, and I hope that in the very beginning of next week, the fleet and forces will be ready to sail.

The Earl of Strafford's going by the way

* This letter was dated July 5th. and refers to Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Monsieur de Torcy, 20th June. BOLINGBROKE,

of

of Holland, instead of going by that of Ostend, as was at first intended, and as I writ to your Grace, will make him arrive at the army later than were to be wished ; and your Grace, no doubt, must be impatient to receive those lights and informations for your guidance in this nice conjuncture of affairs, which he is amply instructed to give you. I hope, however, that his Lordship will come up to your Grace before this letter can reach you.

Upon hearing from Sir James Abercrombie and Colonel King, that the orders for evacuating Dunkirk are received by the Governor, and that he is ready to admit the Queen's troops into the place, your Grace is, without losing a moment, if you shall not already have done it, to declare a suspension of arms, and to withdraw with the British troops, and such others as shall obey your orders, according to her Majesty's commands, which I had the honour to signify to your Grace in mine of the 20th instant.

Your Grace will observe that this order is positive, and I am commanded to explain to you the reasons upon which it is founded, and why no case can possibly happen

pen in which her Majesty will allow that any other measure should be taken:—If my Lord Strafford should bring your Grace word that the Dutch do absolutely agree to a suspension of arms, then this order is proper, and English and Dutch, and all the other allies, will retire together. If he brings word to your Grace, that they absolutely refuse the suspension, then this order is necessary, since we are not in circumstances to suffer the law to be imposed upon us. And lastly, if my Lord Strafford should bring your Grace an account that the States agree to a suspension of arms conditionally, and under restrictions either as to time or manner, her Majesty must look upon such an agreement to be more dangerous even than a refusal, since it can have no other consequence or design than to break the Queen's measures, by gaining of time, and to make us lose the opportunity of taking possession of Dunkirk.

On Saturday last, an order was dispatched to Mr. Sweet, that he should make no farther payments to any of the foreign troops. But as my Lord Strafford was empowered to treat with the Ministers, and
your

your Grace directed to expostulate with the generals, so upon directions from your Grace, or from his Lordship, Mr. Sweet is to dispense with the general order, and to advance to you such as you shall judge proper, and think deserve this distinction at the Queen's hands.

I forgot to tell your Grace, that Mr. Hill is appointed by her Majesty to command the troops that go over, and in the town of Dunkirk. I am, &c.

A Monsieur Marschalch.

De Whitehall, ce 27^{me} Juin, V.S. 1712.

ON nous a fuscité depuis peu, mon cher Monsieur, tant d'affaires, qu'il ne seroit pas étonnant, si un homme beaucoup plus capable que je le suis, se trouvoit obligé de demander pardon à ses amis, & à ses correspondans les plus intimes, de ce qu'il avoit négligé de leur écrire. Pour moi, je compte tellement sur la bonté que vous m'avez toujours témoignée, que je ne doute pas que vous ne m'excusiez.

Nous voici, Monsieur, venus à ce point,
que

que je vous ai souvent prédit. Les Ministres de l'Empereur & d'Hollande se flattans, malgré tout ce qu'on leur pouvoit dire, qu'ils n'avoient qu'à continuer dans leur opposition à la Reine, & dans leurs intrigues avec nos factieux, pour nous obliger à changer de conduite, & à leur laisser le pouvoir absolu de faire la guerre ou la paix à leur façon, & à nos dépens, ont à la fin poussé la Reine au bout. Elle est encore prête à vivre avec eux comme les bons alliés doivent vivre ensemble, mais elle est résolue de ne se laisser plus amuser. Elle va droit à la paix, ceux qui concourent avec elle, ne manqueront pas d'avoir toute la satisfaction qu'ils peuvent espérer ; ceux qui veulent la guerre, courent risque d'avoir sur le dos un poids qu'ils ne sont pas en état de soutenir.

Les grands politiques en Hollande ont cru avoir fait un coup de maître, quand ils ont trouvé les moyens de persuader aux troupes étrangères de refuser d'obéir au Duc d'Ormond, &, par conséquent, de nous empêcher de prendre possession de Dunkerque : mais ils se trompent ; Dunkerque sera mis entre les mains de la Reine, les troupes
qui

qui refusent ne seront plus payées par nous, & les Etats-Généraux n'auront qu'à chercher les fonds pour leur entretien. Après cela, Monsieur, je dois vous dire, & même par ordre de la Reine, que le Roi peut s'assurer qu'elle soutiendra ses intérêts comme les siens propres, & qu'il n'y a point lieu de douter que la paix ne se fasse à son contentement ; en revanche, la Reine espère que le Roi voudra envoyer des ordres bien précis au Prince d'Anhalt, de ne plus se joindre au Prince Eugène, ni aux Généraux d'Hollande, en s'opposant au Duc d'Ormond. Comme il peut arriver que le Duc de Savoie suivra le plan de la Grande Bretagne, il seroit à-propos que votre général, qui est en Italie, eut des ordres secrets de régler sa conduite sur celle de ce Prince, & qu'il lui obéît généralement en toutes choses. Monsieur Breton parlera en conformité de ce que je viens d'écrire. Ecrivez, s'il vous plaît, dans le même sens, & soyez assuré que le Roi aura tout sujet d'être content de notre procédé. Quant aux affaires du Nord, je vous en parlerai dans une poste ou deux. Adieu, mon cher ami, à vous, &c.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 5th, O.S. 1712.

THE joint dispatch from your Lordship and the Lord Privy Seal, came to my hands on the 2nd, and by that we can compute that you could not join the Duke of Ormond till Wednesday last.

Your Lordship easily conceives the impatience we must be under, to hear again from you, from the Duke, and from Sir James Abercrombie, and Colonel King, who are at Dunkirk. We hope, and indeed take it for granted, that there can be no room on the part of France, to hesitate about the surrender of this place, since, as you very well know, this is to be done whether the allies consent to the suspension or not. We likewise hope, there can on our part, have been no room to stop declaring this suspension, the Queen's orders having been given very clearly and positively.

Your Lordship sees better than any one, of what importance it is to have this point over; how uncertain a bottom we stand upon till then, and how glorious a game we

VOL. II.

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shall

shall have in our hands afterwards; if, therefore, any difficulties have arisen, exert all your skill, all your diligence, and all your resolution, to remove or overcome them; and depend on this, that no man ever had such an occasion of showing himself.

I send Barton with these letters, whom you will keep or order back, as you see good.

The moment we hear that the enemy is ready to evacuate Dunkirk, we shall order the troops who lie ready in the Downs to proceed; at the same time, instructions will go to your Lordship, and Lord Privy Seal, for settling a general cessation, and for concluding the Queen's part of the peace.

God bless you, and prosper you! We have passed the Rubicon, and we must triumph or sink! I am ever, &c.

A Monsieur Marschalch.

De Whitehall, ce 9me Juillet, V.S. 1712.

JE vous avoue, mon cher Monsieur, que la Reine fera fort surprise de voir que sa Majesté Prussienne puisse espérer de mieux

trouver son compte en se rangeant avec des puissances qui prétendent faire ce qu'elles ne sont pas en état de soutenir, qu'en continuant étroitement unies avec une Princesse qui est en état de faire réussir ses desseins, & qui n'en a aucun qui ne soit conforme aux vues du Roi votre maître.

Vous savez, Monsieur, aussi-bien que moi, que la dispute n'a jamais roulé si nous aurions une paix ou non, & beaucoup moins sur quelles conditions cette paix se feroit ; l'unique but des Impériaux & des Hollandois, a été de forcer la Reine, en se liguant avec les plus factieux de ses sujets, de poursuivre une guerre inutile à la cause commune, onéreuse & inégale particulièrement à la Grande Bretagne, & après cela de commencer une nouvelle négociation avec la France, dans le cours de laquelle sa Majesté auroit assurément eu l'honneur de traiter sous leurs auspices, mais elle n'auroit pas eu celui d'avoir voix en chapitre.

On a poursuivi ce beau plan, avec une telle opiniâtreté, que la division s'est mise parmi les alliés, & ce grand avantage a été donné à l'ennemi, plutôt que de vouloir consentir que la Reine conduisît la négociation, ou que les

peuples eussent quelque dédommagement par la paix, pour tout ce qu'ils ont souffert pendant la guerre. Dans une telle conjoncture que pouvoit faire notre maîtresse ? Elle a porté la France à faire des offres qui montrent assez évidemment, que si l'on veut traiter de bonne foi, une satisfaction juste & raisonnable sera donnée à tous les confédérés ; il ne tient donc qu'à eux de renouveler les conférences à Utrecht sur ce plan, & de se tenir unis avec la Reine, qui certes ne fera pas moins en état de se faire valoir, ayant Dunkerque entre les mains.

Quant aux intérêts du Roi votre maître, j'ai ordre de la Reine de vous dire, & Monsieur Breton ne manquera pas de donner les mêmes assurances à sa Majesté Prussienne, que les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne vous seconderont dans toutes vos demandes ; & puisque les Ministres de France déclarent qu'ils ne faut qu'une déclaration solennelle de la part de la Reine pour vous faire obtenir tout ce que vous souhaitez, vous devez compter que vous l'avez obtenu.

Au nom de Dieu, Monsieur, travaillez fortement à tenir nos deux cours unies. Si le Roi se range du côté de la Reine, l'unanimité

mité se remettra d'abord parmi les alliés, puisqu'il n'y a eu que la roideur des Etats qui y a mis la division. Mais personne ne peut répondre des suites d'une déclaration du Roi contre les mesures de sa Majesté. On continuera la campagne, me direz-vous, sans l'assistance de la Reine: en Flanders, je tombe d'accord, qu'on la continuera; mais songez un peu à l'Espagne, au Portugal, à l'Italie, & sur-tout songez aux moyens de continuer une autre campagne sans les sept millions que la Grande Bretagne fournit toutes les années.

Le Roi de France, tout ennemi qu'il est, vient de confier à la Reine une place aussi importante que Dunkerque, sans traité, sans convention. Sera-t-il dit que le Roi de Prusse ne se fierait point à des promesses si souvent réitérées, à une bonne foi dont il a eu l'expérience tant d'années? Un courier portera mes dépêches à mon ami Breton, aidez-le de vos lumières, secondez ses instances par les vôtres, & comptez qu'il s'agit d'assurer une paix bonne & honorable, ou de plonger l'Europe dans de nouveaux malheurs, peut-être pires que ceux qu'elle vient d'essuyer.

Adieu, dans la hâte j'écris sans me servir

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du

du chiffre, 'aussi cette lettre vous sera rendue par un courier de la Reine qui va à Berlin.

Je suis du fond de mon ame, cher Marschalch, a vous, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, July 12th, 1712.

THIS letter accompanies a very formal one from the office, and serves to tell you, that we are not at all concerned, as to the Queen's interest abstractedly, at what has happened in Flanders, but we are very much at a loss to imagine, what the Princes can mean or propose to themselves, to whom these troops belong. A beggarly German General commands the troops, which have been so many years paid by her Majesty, and which are actually so at this time, to *desert* from the Queen, and to leave her subject-forces, for ought they knew, exposed to be attacked by the enemy; this, I confess, is surprizing, and what very few instances can be produced to parallel.

I assure you, that the matter will be carried high here. I think the Queen and all
who

who serve her, are determined to resent this insult offered to the British nation by our *mercenaries*. We shall have money to spare, and I believe shall employ it to make those fear our force, who have not been gained upon by our kindness.

The Northern Ministers, begin already to be alarmed at the equipment of a very strong squadron for the Baltic; they will soon discover that the States, who were to invade us, cannot fit out one fleet to cope with our Channel guard.

I long to hear from you; has the elector no one man that knows any thing of this country, or who is endowed with more sagacity than Shults * and Bothmar, the poorest tools, next to Blaythwait†, that ever dirtied paper?

Adieu, let us see Couchman's face as soon as you see and know the *carte de pais*.

* Envoy-extraordinary from Hanover.

† Had been a Commissioner of trade and Secretary-at-war.

A Monsieur Marschalch.

De Whitehall, ce 12me Juillet, V.S. 1712,

LA dernière fois que je vous écrivis, mon cher Monsieur, j'ai tâché de vous exciter à prévenir les inconvéniens que je prévoyois devoir naître, en cas que le Roi votre maître voulut abandonner la Reine, qui ne demande qu'une paix raisonnable, unique but de la guerre, pour s'attacher à ceux qui veulent jouer un rôle qu'ils ne peuvent pas soutenir. Depuis ce tems-là sa Majesté a vu avec beaucoup de regret par les lettres du Duc d'Ormond du 17me de ce mois, N.S. que les troupes Prussiennes ont été des premières à quitter l'armée Britannique, pour suivre le Prince Eugène, qui n'a pas daigné seulement communiquer au général de la Reine à quel endroit il d'irigoit sa marche, ou quel dessein il avoit en vue. Je crains que l'honneur que le Prince d'Anhalt rapportera au siège de Landrecy ne dédommagera pas la cause commune des malheurs qu'elle va souffrir par le faux-pas que ce Prince a fait en contribuant à offrir à la Reine un affront aussi outrageant que celui dont je viens de parler. Sa Majesté ne veut faire aucunes plaintes ;

plaintes; Monsieur Breton a seulement ordre de ne rien dire du contenu de ma dernière lettre, qui étoit remplie d'assurances de la part de la Reine au Roi votre maître. Je crois que nous nous attacherons à nous faire valoir par nos forces, où l'amitié & la bonne volonté ont été de nul effet. Je ne vous dis rien des affaires du Nord, ce qui s'est passé depuis peu de jours en Flandres change tout-à-fait notre système. Mais, en ami sincère, je vous confierai mon opinion, qui est que la Reine parlera par la bouche de son Amiral dans ces quartiers. Vous venez de nous ôter une furieuse dépense qui nous pesoit extrêmement; une partie de ce que nous épargnerons sera appliqué à la marine.

Adieu, cher ami.

To Mr. Hill.

SIR,

Whitehall, 12th July, 1712.

COLONEL Disney arrived here Thursday the 10th instant, and brought us the good news of your having taken possession of Dunkirk in the best order, and without the least disturbance. This officer will be sent
 4 back

back to you in a few days ; by him I shall write to you again, and you will receive from me and from Sir William Windham *, an account of all which is done or doing for the garrison where you command.

The occasion of my writing to you at present is to let you know, by her Majesty's order, that the Duke of Ormond will, in all probability, march with his body of troops to Dunkirk ; in which case, you will not want for any reinforcement from hence for artillery, gunners, stores, &c. As soon as we hear that his Grace bends towards you, we shall take the proper measures for supplying the troops from hence with what they may stand in need of.

Though her Majesty makes no doubt of your discreet behaviour, yet I am commanded to desire, that you would be particularly careful not to give the Duke of Ormond the least occasion even of unreasonable umbrage ; but, on the contrary, that you would affect to be at his command in every thing. You will readily enter into the meaning of this direction, and consider that a man

* Appointed Secretary-at-war, vice Lord Landsdowne, made Comptroller of the Household.

of

of his character, who comes from the head of a great army, and from the fight of his enemy, to retire under the walls of Dunkirk with 18,000 or 20,000 men, cannot be in very good humour.

Our correspondence with you will soon grow very frequent and very easy, since, before the end of next week, I hope our packet-boats will begin to sail betwixt Dover and Calais. I am, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 19me Juillet, 1712.

AVANT que de recevoir la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire par ordre du Roi, vous aurez été informé de la publication que Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond a faite dans son armée, d'une cessation d'armes entre la France & la Grande Bretagne, de sa marche, & du refus que les Généraux des troupes auxiliaires, soit à la solde de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne seule, soit à la solde commune, ont fait de se joindre aux troupes Angloises, & de le suivre.

Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez aussi
reçu

reçu la nouvelle de l'entrée des bataillons Anglois dans Dunkerque, suivant les ordres que le Roi avoit donné de les y recevoir. Ainsi, Monsieur, les premières mesures prises pour parvenir à la paix étant accomplies de la part de sa Majesté & de celle de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, vos alliés ayant aussi déclaré nettement par leur réponses, que les effets ont confirmés, le parti qu'ils vouloient prendre de continuer la guerre ; il ne reste plus, suivant ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, par votre lettre de 20 Juin, & 1 Juillet que de conclure la paix en très peu de semaines, entre la France & la Grande Bretagne.

Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond a déjà satisfait à ce que la Reine a promis en se retirant avec les troupes Angloises, quoique seules, & en déclarant que sa Majesté Britannique ne veut plus agir contre la France, ni payer ceux qui ne se conformeront pas à son exemple.

Vous m'avez mandé, Monsieur, que se voyant poussée par ses alliés, à de telles extrémités, & se croyant justifiée devant Dieu & devant les hommes, elle ne balanceroit plus à conclure sa paix particulière, laissant

sant aux autres puissances engagées dans la guerre, un terme pour se soumettre aux conditions du plan dont elle conviendra avec le Roi. Il s'agit donc de l'exécution de cette promesse, qui paroît désormais bien facile, toutes les conditions de la paix avec l'Angleterre étant réglées, & les intentions du Roi, sur la paix générale, étant connues à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, & je crois pouvoir dire, approuvées de sa Majesté Britannique.

Je ne vous dirai rien, Monsieur, pour exciter son ressentiment sur la conduite de ses alliés. Ils ne font que trop voir leur animosité, & leurs mauvais desseins contre la Reine; bien loin d'animer l'esprit de guerre & de division, je souhaiterois qu'on peut inspirer l'amour de la paix à ceux qui tentent toutes sortes de voies pour la traverser. Mais comme rien ne sera plus capable de rétablir le repos général, malgré leurs oppositions, que de confirmer & d'assurer solidement ce qui a été fait jusqu'à présent entre la France & la Grande Bretagne, le Roi à déjà envoyé ses ordres à Messieurs ses Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht pour convenir incessamment de la suspension générale, tant
par

par mer que par terre, & pour la signer avec Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne.

Sa Majesté estime qu'il est à-propos de suivre les dispositions du traité de Ryfwick pour régler les termes de la suspension par mer ; par conséquent, que les vaisseaux, marchandises, effets, pris dans la Manche, & dans les mers du Nord, après l'espace de douze jours, à compter depuis la signature & la publication de la suspension, seront de part & d'autre restitués réciproquement. Que le terme sera de six semaines pour les prises faites depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les isles Britanniques, & les mers du Nord jusqu'au Cap St. Vincent. De dix semaines depuis & au-delà de ce cap jusqu'à la ligne, soit dans l'océan, soit dans la mer Méditerranée. Enfin de six mois au delà de la ligne, & dans tous les autres endroits du monde, sans aucune exception ni autre distinction plus particulière de tems ou de lieu.

En attendant que la suspension par mer soit réglée & signée, on pourroit, Monsieur, pour le bien réciproque des François & des Anglois, donner des passeports pour assurer
le

le commerce ; je ne vous fait point remarquer l'avantage que l'Angleterre retirera, soit de ces passeports, soit d'une suspension particulière ; je vous dirai seulement, Monsieur, que le Roi n'est point fâché que la nation Angloise puisse faire librement son commerce, sans avoir à craindre d'aucun ennemi, quoique ses propres sujets ne jouissent pas du même avantage, ayant à se garantir des armateurs Hollandois, si la suspension n'est pas générale.

Quoiqu'il y ait lieu de croire par la conduite que tiennent les Etats-Généraux qu'ils différeront à se soumettre le plus long-tems qu'il leur sera possible, le Roi donne cependant ses ordres & ses pouvoirs à ses Plénipotentiaires pour convenir avec eux, de concert avec les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, d'une suspension d'armes & par mer & par terre. Enfin ils sont également autorisés à convenir de la même suspension avec tous vos alliés, non-seulement au nom du Roi, mais encore au nom du Roi d'Espagne.

Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous faire observer, que pendant qu'elle durera, soit particulière, soit générale, il ne doit pas être
libre

libre de transporter ni troupes ni munitions de guerre & de bouche en Portugal, en Catalogne, enfin dans aucun des lieux où la guerre se fait présentement. Je crois cette réflexion inutile, mais il ne peut nuire de l'avoir faite.

Le Roi me commande encore de vous proposer d'envoyer, sans perte de tems, les ordres de la Reine en Portugal & en Catalogne, afin que la suspension y soit publiée & observée entre les troupes d'Angleterre, celles du Roi d'Espagne, & les troupes auxiliaires de France. Vous pourriez même, pour plus de diligence, faire passer par la France le courier que vous dépêcheriez en Catalogne.

J'attendrai, Monsieur, avec beaucoup d'impatience, vos réponses, quoique je ne doute pas de ce qu'elles contiendront, les effets ayant toujours suivis ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire ; mais vous voyez combien les momens sont précieux, & vous pouvez prévoir les événemens qui arriveront peut-être en Flandres plus aisément que jamais, depuis la retraite de vos troupes.

Il seroit, ce me semble, très nécessaire, dans une pareille-conjoncture, de faciliter le passage des lettres, afin de se communiquer plus

plus fréquemment les choses qu'il est essentiel de savoir de part & d'autre. On pourroit pour cet effet rétablir, dès à présent les paquet-bôts de Dovre à Calais comme ils étoient établis avant l'interdiction du commerce. Je prendrai la liberté de vous dire, que vous y trouverez encore un autre avantage pour le service de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. Les malles d'Angleterre qu'on envoie d'Ostende à Anvers passent par les mains du nommé Jaupin, dont vous n'ignorez pas, Monsieur, l'attachement pour la régence d'Hollande, pour le Prince Eugène, & j'ajouterai pour votre précédent Général. Vous devez savoir aussi l'usage qu'il fait de la disposition qu'il a de ces malles. Au commencement de la campagne, il avoit proposé au Maître de la Poste de Rouffelar, de les conduire d'Ostende à Tournay, parce que Jaupin demeurant dans l'armée ennemie, ou dans quelque ville des environs, auroit eu plus de facilité de s'instruire, & de rendre compte à Monseigneur le Prince Eugène des ordres que vous enverriez à Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond. Si vous croyez nécessaire de lui en ôter absolument la connoissance, on conviendra facilement, lorsque les paquet-

bots seront rétablis, des moyens de faire porter les malles de Calais à Lille en passant par Dunkerque & par y près.

J'attends tous les jours le retour de la Vigne, & je vous supplie d'être persuadé qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je suis, Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12^{me} Juillet, 1712.

JEUDI, 10^{me} de ce mois, V.S. nous reçûmes la nouvelle de l'entrée des troupes de la Reine dans Dunkerque, & le même jour il arriva un officier de l'armée, qui nous apporta les lettres du Duc d'Ormond, du 17^{me} de ce mois. Alors, Monsieur, la Reine se vit en état de donner ses derniers ordres à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de ne plus perdre un moment à conclure avec les Ministres de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, la convention pour une suspension générale, tant par mer que par terre, & même le traité de paix entre la Grande Bretagne & la France.

Le Conseil s'est assemblé hier, & on met-
toit

toit la dernière main à ces instructions, quand l'Abbé Gaultier me rendit la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 19me de ce mois (N.S.) par laquelle j'ai vu avec beaucoup de plaisir, que les sentimens de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, & les ordres qu'elle a donnés, sont conformes à ceux dont la Reine a trouvé à-propos de me charger. Vous y répétez, Monsieur, ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire par ma lettre du 20me du mois passé, & j'ose vous répondre que dans cette occasion comme dans toutes les autres, les effets ne manqueront pas de suivre les promesses que je vous ai données au nom de la Reine, & par son ordre.

Il est vrai, Monsieur, que la conduite de ses alliés ne répond en aucune manière aux obligations qu'ils ont reçues, ni à celles qu'ils auroient pu se promettre de la part de la Reine : mais, Monsieur, vous entrez entièrement dans notre pensée quand au lieu d'animer l'esprit de guerre & de division, vous souhaitez d'inspirer l'amour de la paix à ceux qui tentent toute sorte de voies pour la traverser.

C'est une espèce de frénésie qui s'est ré-

F f 2

pandue

pandue dans le monde ; il faut empêcher ceux qui en sont attaqués, de nous faire du mal ; & la charité nous oblige en même-temps de contribuer tout ce que nous pouvons pour leur guérison. Commençons avec le premier point, & afin de rétablir le repos général, malgré toutes les oppositions, confirmons & assurons solidement ce qui a été fait jusqu'à présent entre la Grande Bretagne & la France.

La Reine, Monsieur, consent que les vaisseaux, marchandises, effets pris dans la Manche & dans les mers du Nord, après l'espace de douze jours à compter depuis la signature & la publication de la suspension, seront de part & d'autre restitués réciproquement.

Que le terme sera de six semaines pour les prises faites depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les Isles Britanniques, & les mers du Nord, jusqu'au Cap St. Vincent.

De dix semaines depuis & au-delà de ce cap jusqu'à la ligne, soit dans l'océan, soit dans la Mer Méditerranée.

Enfin, de six mois au-delà de la ligne, & dans tous les autres endroits du monde, sans
aucune

aucune exception ni autre distinction plus particulière de tems ou de lieu.

Et qu'en attendant que la suspension par mer soit réglée & signée, on donne, pour le bien réciproque des deux nations, des passeports pour assurer le commerce.

Le sentiment de la Reine a été qu'il seroit utile d'abrégér le terme de dix semaines dans la Mer Méditerranée particulièrement, & Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires ont été instruits de proposer le terme de six semaines tant pour les prises faites depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les Isles Britanniques, & les mers du Nord, jusqu'au Cap St. Vincent, que depuis & au-delà de ce Cap, jusqu'à la ligne, soit dans l'océan, soit dans la Mer Méditerranée ; mais un différent de cette nature n'arrêtera pas la conclusion de la suspension.

L'observation que vous faites, Monsieur, touchant le transport de troupes, ou de munitions de guerre & de bouche en Portugal, en Catalogne, ou dans aucun des lieux où la guerre se fait présentement, ne peut souffrir aucune difficulté ; la Reine en convient, & cet article sera exécuté de notre côté avec la dernière exactitude. Je dois cependant,

F f 3

Monsieur,

Monfieur, vous dire que la Reine ne croira pas contrevenir à cette règle en envoyant des troupes ou des munitions à Gibraltar & au port Mahon ; en retirant les troupes Portugoifes qui fervent en Catalogne, pour les transporter chez eux ; en faifant transporter les troupes Allemandes, ou autres qui font au fervice de l'Empereur, d'Efpagne en Italie, & enfin en retirant les troupes Angloifes, & généralement tout ce qui appartient à la Reine, pour les conduire à l'Ifle de Minorque, ou même à la Grande Bretagne.

Je viens, Monfieur, de vous parler de retirer les troupes Angloifes qui reftent en Catalogne : les ordres de la Reine font déjà donnés à cet effet, & comme fa Majefté a auffi pris la réfolution de ne plus fournir la moindre chofe aux frais de cette guerre, la fufpenfion s'exécutera d'elle-même ; & je crois que les troupes de l'Empereur qui font en Catalogne s'eftimeront affez heureufes de pouvoir fortir librement du pays, & d'être transportées chez eux. Comme le Duc d'Argyle, ou quelque autre officier, fera immédiatement dépêché pour tenir la main à l'exécution de ces ordres, il eft certain qu'en le faifant paffer par la France, comme nous
avons

avons dessein de faire dans cinq ou six jours, nous gagnerions beaucoup de tems.

Les ordres nécessaires pour établir la suspension d'armes en Portugal seront donnés, mais comme le Ministre qui se trouve ici n'est pas instruit ni autorisé de concerter aucune mesure là-dessus, il faut en parler aux Plénipotentiaires du Roi de Portugal qui sont à Utrecht.

De tous ses alliés il n'y a aucun dont les intérêts tiennent plus au cœur de sa Majesté que ceux du Duc de Savoye ; & elle espère que le Roi Très Chrétien, de concert avec elle, ne négligera rien qui puisse engager son Altesse Royale à entrer dans toutes nos mesures, & la mettre à couvert de toute insulte de la part des Impériaux, lorsqu'elle y fera entrée.

Les disputes survenues par rapport à la barrière de ce Prince, se réduisent à quatre points : le droit de garnison en Monaco, avec la supériorité & direct domaine de Monton & de Rocabruna, les villages au-delà du Rhône, Briançon, & le fort de Barreau.

La Reine, Monsieur, souhaite que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne veuille bien montrer de la facilité sur des articles si peu impor-

tans à une puissance telle que la sienne, & d'une aussi grande conséquence à son Altesse Royale, dont le pays est plus ouverte que jamais par la démolition de tant de forteresses.

Il n'est de l'intérêt ni de la Grande Bretagne ni de la France que le Royaume de Sicile soit donné à la maison d'Autriche; son Altesse Royale est le Prince sur la tête duquel la Reine souhaite de voir placer cette couronne; elle ne peut pas se désister de cette demande, elle la propose à son Altesse Royale comme une condition de la suspension d'armes du côté de l'Italie, & elle lui fait savoir que c'est un article sur lequel je vous ai écrit par son ordre. Le courier qui va à Turin passera par la France, de sorte que les propositions que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne voudra faire à son Altesse Royale pourront accompagner celles de la Reine.

Il ne me reste sur le sujet de la suspension que de vous dire que d'abord qu'elle sera déclarée en Espagne, la Reine demande que le blocus de Gibraltar soit levé, & que tant la garnison que les marchands qui s'y trouveront, pourront en toute liberté vivre & négocier avec les Espagnols.

Les paquet-bots seront établis sans perte de tems de Dovre à Calais. Je crois même qu'ils pourront commencer à faire ce voyage dès la semaine prochaine. Vous aurez, s'il vous plaît, la bonté de faire expédier les passeports & les ordres nécessaires.

Je suis fort bien instruit du caractère de Jaupin, & je ne manquerai pas de prendre avec vous des mesures pour que nos lettres ne passent pas par ses mains. Celles que nous écrivons dorénavant au Duc d'Ormond ne doivent point courir aucun risque, puisque ce Général prendra apparemment le parti de se retirer du côté de Dunkerque ; dans cette situation il n'aura besoin ni des Hollandois ni des Flamands ; pendant qu'il y reste, on fournira d'ici tout ce dont les troupes auront besoin, & quand sa Majesté trouvera à-propos de les faire transporter dans la Grande Bretagne, ce transport se fera de Dunkerque avec plus de commodité que d'aucun autre endroit.

Le Duc d'Ormond a ordre de concerter sa marche avec Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars, & d'assurer ce Général (comme j'ai ordre de la Reine de vous promettre, Monsieur) que les troupes payeront régulièrement pour
tout

tout ce qui leur sera fourni par les sujets de la France, & que toute la satisfaction possible sera donnée à ces derniers, si par quelque accident la moindre injustice leur fut faite.

Quand je vous ai parlé de la suspension d'armes, j'ai oublié de vous dire que la Reine consentira à l'étendre ou à la prolonger de la manière que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne trouvera à-propos ; mais qu'elle espère, & même qu'elle ne doute pas, que le Roi ne fasse pleinement exécuter l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies, s'il est possible, pendant le terme de deux mois. La Reine souhaiteroit de savoir quelles mesures ont été prises pour cet effet ; vous aurez la bonté de me les communiquer, & vous me ferez la justice de croire qu'on ne peut pas être plus parfaitement que je le suis,

Monfieur, votre, &c.

B.

De Monfieur de Torcy.

A Fontainbleau, le 26me Juillet, 1712.

LES nouvelles de Flandres vous apprendront, Monfieur, que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne commence à être vengée du peu d'égards

d'égards que ses alliés ont eu pour ses sages conseils, & du refus que les troupes auxiliaires ont fait de suivre Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond. Il seroit inutile de vous envoyer le détail de ce qui s'est passée le 24^{me} de ce mois à l'attaque du camp de Denain, où Monsieur le Comte d'Albemarle à été forcé, pris, & les troupes qu'il commandoit entièrement défaites, par Monsieur le Maréchal de Villars. Je suis persuadé que vous en ferez toutes les circonstances avant que de recevoir ma lettre ; ainsi, Monsieur, j'aurai seulement l'honneur de vous dire que le Roi compte que les avantages que ses troupes rapporteront, feront d'autant plus de plaisir à la Reine, que ce seront de nouveaux motifs pour vaincre l'obstination des ennemis de la paix. Leur animosité paroissoit plus vive que jamais, suivant les dernières lettres d'Hollande. J'espère que sa Majesté Britannique achevera de les mettre à la raison, en convenant incessamment avec le Roi, des dernières mesures à prendre pour achever un ouvrage aussi avancé. Elle en a les moyens entre ses mains, si elle veut faire usage des villes de Gand & de Bruges que ses troupes occupent, & particulièrement de la première ;

car

car il dépend de celui qui en est le maître dans la conjoncture présente, de faire échouer les desseins des Généraux ennemis, & de donner la loi aux Hollandois.

Il dépend aussi de la Reine d'arrêter l'exécution des projets que Monsieur le Comte de Staremborg peut former du côté de la Catalogne, les troupes Angloises occupant présentement Tarragone. Je ne doute pas, Monsieur, que le commandant n'ait des ordres bien précis de garder cette place sans la remettre au pouvoir des Allemands, & rien n'empêchera qu'elle demeure entre les mains de sa Majesté Britannique jusqu'à ce que la paix soit conclue & ratifiée.

J'attends vos réponses à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le 19me de ce mois, au sujet de la suspension par mer & par terre, à faire incessamment entre la France & l'Angleterre.

Le Roi a su depuis peu que les vaisseaux de l'escadre commandée par Monsieur l'Amiral Jennings, servoient actuellement à transporter les troupes & les chevaux que l'Archiduc fait passer du côté de Gennes en Catalogne. Sa Majesté est persuadée, que dans l'état où sont les affaires, un pareil transport est

est absolument contraire aux intentions de la Reine, & par conséquent, que cette Princesse jugera nécessaire d'envoyer incessamment ses ordres pour le faire cesser.

Le courier qu'elle dépêcheroit pour cet effet, gagneroit beaucoup de tems en passant par la France. Il en aura la liberté entière si vous voulez l'envoyer par cette voie.

Enfin, Monsieur, nous sommes en de telles circonstances qu'il semble qu'on ne doit plus chercher de part & d'autre que l'avantage réciproque des deux nations; ainsi le Roi n'hésite pas à proposer à la Reine d'envoyer aussi des ordres exprès, & par la voie la plus courte, aux vaisseaux Anglois partagés pour croiser en différens endroits de la Méditerranée, de laisser passer librement les vaisseaux François, qui reviennent du Levant, dont plusieurs doivent apporter des bleds en Provence.

Je vous supplie de croire, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Mon-

A Monsieur de Torcy.

A Whitehall, le 17^{me} Juillet, 1712.

DANS la dernière lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire, je vous ai marqué, Monsieur, que de tous les alliés, il n'y en avoit aucun dont les intérêts tenoient plus au cœur de la Reine, que ceux du Duc de Savoye, & qu'elle espéroit que le Roi Très Chrétien, de concert avec elle, ne négligeroit rien qui pourroit engager Son Altesse Royale à entrer dans toutes nos mesures pour la mettre à couvert de toute insulte de la part de l'Empereur, lorsqu'elle y seroit entrée.

Je vous ai fait savoir dans la même lettre, que les différens par rapport à la barrière de ce Prince, se réduisoient à quatre points, & que la Reine souhaitoit que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne voulut bien montrer de la facilité sur des articles si peu importants à une puissance telle que la sienne, & d'une aussi grande conséquence à son Altesse Royale, dont le pays est plus ouvert que jamais, par la démolition de tant de forteresses.

J'ai ajouté qu'il n'étoit de l'intérêt ni de la Grande Bretagne ni de la France, que le royaume de Sicile fût donné à la maison d'Autriche,

d'Autriche, que son Altesse Royale étoit le Prince sur la tête duquel la Reine souhaitoit de voir placer cette couronne, qu'elle ne pouvoit se désister de cette demande, qu'elle la proposoit à son Altesse Royale comme une condition de la suspension d'armes du côté d'Italie. Qu'elle lui faisoit savoir que c'étoit un article sur lequel je vous avois écrit par son ordre, & que le courier qui alloit à Turin passeroit par la France, de sorte que les propositions que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne voudroit faire à son Altesse Royale, pourroient accompagner celles qui lui seroient faites d'ici. C'est sur ce fondement que je vous écris, Monsieur, aujourd'hui, par ordre de la Reine.

Il n'est pas nécessaire que j'explique toutes les raisons qui servent à montrer combien il est important dans la conjoncture présente d'avoir la concurrence du Duc de Savoye & dans la suspension d'armes & dans le traité de paix, qui seront tous deux faits, selon les apparences, entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, & l'Espagne, sans l'intervention des autres alliés. Ces raisons ne vous échappent pas, & la Reine se persuade que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne prendra la résolution

tion de s'assûrer, sans perte de tems, d'un Prince dont la déclaration fera un coup de maître, & viendra d'autant plus à-propos, que la conduite du Roi de Prusse n'a point de tout répondu à ce que la Reine avoit lieu d'espérer de lui*.

Je ne vous parlerai plus sur les disputes survenues sur les demandes de son Altesse Royale qui regardent la France plus particulièrement.

Ce Prince n'insistera pas sur des demandes qui ne sont pas nécessaires à la sûreté de ses états ; & la Reine ne doute pas que le Roi Très Chrétien ne lui accorde celles qui le sont. Mais il y a deux autres articles, sur lesquels il faut qu'il soit bien éclairci, pour le déterminer à prendre son parti sans délai ; & je me bornerai à vous communiquer ce que sa Majesté juge nécessaire pour l'établissement du droit de son Altesse Royale, parès le Roi Philippe & ses descendans, à la couronne d'Espagne & des Indes, & pour assurer à sa dite Altesse Royale la possession du Royaume de Sicile.

* Bolingbroke had been very urgent with the King of Prussia's Envoy, Marschalch, to gain the approval of his master to the plans of the British cabinet ; but the continental engagements of Prussia prevailed, and the Prince of Anhalt, with his forces, joined Prince Eugene.

Vous

Vous savez, Monsieur, que la Reine est convenue avec le Roi votre maître, qu'on tombera d'accord, dans le traité de paix futur, du Prince qui succédera à la couronne d'Espagne après le Roi Philippe & ses descendans ; & que toutes les parties, mentionnées dans les articles proposés pour une suspension d'armes, conviendront par des actes authentiques de reconnoître tel Prince pour successeur à la dite couronne : or, Monsieur, la Reine propose que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne déclare dès à cette heure, qu'elle reconnoît le droit de succession du Duc de Savoye à l'Espagne & aux Indes, après le Roi Philippe & ses descendans ; qu'elle promette que tant le Roi Philippe, que les états d'Espagne le reconnoîtroient aussi ; que les Princes de France, & spécialement les Ducs de Berry & d'Orléans approuveront, ratifieront, & confirmeront tout ce qui sera fait pour la reconnoissance du dit droit de succession : que sa Majesté Très Chrétienne promette de plus à son Altesse Royale, tant pour lui que pour le Roi Philippe, l'exécution de tout ce qui sera trouvé nécessaire pour assurer à sa dite Altesse Royale, & à sa famille, la succession de la couronne d'Es-

pagne & des Indes, après le susdit Roi Philippe & ses descendans ; & particulièrement qu'elle s'engage que le Roi Philippe dispensera, de sa propre volonté, & par son autorité royale, ses sujets de tous sermens contraires qu'ils peuvent avoir prêtés, & qu'à ces fins il les révoquera & annulera de même que toutes les déclarations, telles qu'elles soient, qu'il a faites en faveur de tout Prince de son sang.

Le tems le plus propre pour l'exécution de ce qui est dessus, paroît être celui auquel on est convenu que tout ce qui regarde l'article de la réunion des deux monarchies sera accompli.

C'est aussi dans ce tems-là, que la cession de la Sicile, & de ses dépendances, doit être faite par le Roi Philippe en faveur de son Altesse Royale ; & sa Majesté propose au Roi Très Chrétien d'envoyer, dès à cette heure, des assurances fort précises à sa dite Altesse Royale, que cette cession se fera par un acte authentique dans toutes les formes requises ; que par le même acte de cession, le Roi Philippe déclarera qu'il tient le royaume de Sicile & ses dépendances, pour, & au nom seulement, de sa dite Altesse Royale,
& qu'elle

& qu'elle en pourra prendre la réelle possession toutes fois, & quantes qu'il lui plaira en vertu du susdit seul acte de cession. Que le Roi Philippe dispensera, en même-tems, les Siciliens de tout serment de fidélité à son égard, & qu'il leur ordonnera de reconnoître sa dite Altesse Royale pour leur Roi & Souverain légitime.

Que les galères & autres bâtimens appartenans à la Sicile, avec leurs équipages, seront cédés & relâchés à son Altesse Royale, avec le dit royaume ; & que tous les titres, papiers, & documens, qui concernent le royaume de Sicile lui seront aussi remis.

Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne promettant à son Altesse Royale, comme la Reine le lui propose, les avantages & les sûretés que je viens, Monsieur, de vous marquer, il n'y a pas lieu de douter que ce Prince ne suive d'abord l'exemple de la Grande Bretagne, & que la paix ne puisse être faite en très peu de tems, entre la Reine, le Roi Très Chrétien, le Roi d'Espagne, & le Duc de Savoie.

Dans ce traité l'on pourra insérer des clauses pour garantir son Altesse Royale dans la pleine jouissance du royaume de Sicile,

& de ses dépendances ; du droit de succession à la couronne d'Espagne & des Indes, qu'on aura établi ; & dans la possession de tout ce qui lui a été cédé, ou dû être cédé en vertu du traité conclu à Turin, entre feu l'Empereur Léopold, & le dit Duc de Savoie, le 8^{me} Novembre, 1703.

Je dois vous proposer d'envoyer vos dépêches à Turin par le courier de la Reine, plutôt que par un des vôtres, cela donnera moins d'ombrage pour le présent ; pour l'avenir il est facile de prendre avec son Altesse Royale de telles mesures que vous puissiez lui envoyer l'homme de confiance qui devra avoir un plein pouvoir de traiter, & de conclure avec elle.

A Whitehall, ce 18^{me} Juillet, 1712.

J'allois dépêcher ce courier quand j'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 26^{me} de ce mois (N.S.) & dont j'ai fait la lecture à sa Majesté.

La Reine ne peut être que très sensiblement touchée de voir répandre le sang, & continuer les malheurs de la guerre, dans une conjoncture où il ne tient qu'à ses alliés de rétablir le repos de l'Europe ; elle espère que
l'avantage

l'avantage remporté par les troupes du Roi contribuera à vaincre une obstination qui n'a point d'exemple, & j'ai ordre, Monsieur, de vous assurer, que sa Majesté ne négligera rien de tout ce qu'elle peut faire avec justice & avec honneur, pour mettre à la raison ces ennemis de la paix. La mesure la plus essentielle à cette fin est celle sur laquelle cette lettre roule principalement, c'est à dire, d'engager son Altesse Royale à faire sa paix avec la France & l'Espagne en même-tems que la Reine.

Quand je vous ai écrit ma dernière lettre du 12me de ce mois (V.S.) nous avons cru que Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond pourroit être obligé de se retirer du côté de Dunkerque. Il a mieux réussi ; & la possession de Gand & de Bruges aura sans doute son effet, & servira à rendre tant les Impériaux que les Hollandois & les autres alliés plus raisonnables. J'ai déjà écrit à ce Général de se tenir sur ses gardes, & de bien conserver les postes qu'il occupe.

Le dessein de la Reine étoit de retirer immédiatement toutes les troupes Britanniques de la Catalogne, & de ne plus fournir, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le

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mander

mander dans ma précédente, la moindre chose aux frais de cette guerre. Les instructions de Monsieur le Duc d'Argyle ont été dressées dans cette vue, & il doit partir dans très peu de jours pour tenir la main à l'exécution des ordres que la Reine a trouvé à-propos de donner, pour finir la guerre en Espagne ; le Duc passera par la France, & nous ne croyons pas qu'il soit nécessaire qu'il attende un passeport. Il se rendra à Paris, & concertera avec vous l'usage qu'on voudra faire de la conservation de Terragon. En attendant, les ordres de la Reine sont envoyés à Monsieur le Comte de Barrymore, Lieutenant-général, ou à l'Officier, tel qu'il pourra être, qui commandera en chef les troupes Britanniques en Catalogne, de tenir son corps uni, & de garder la ville de Terragon jusqu'à l'arrivée du Duc d'Argyle, ou jusqu'à nouvel ordre.

La Reine embrasse avec beaucoup de satisfaction, l'occasion qui se présente de faire plaisir au Roi ; & des ordres positifs sont envoyés à Monsieur l'Amiral Jennings, de laisser passer librement les vaisseaux François qui reviennent du Levant.

Vous jugez bien, Monsieur, que cet officier

cier ne pouvoit avoir aucun ordre de refuser une escorte aux troupes que l'Empereur pourroit faire passer de Gènes en Catalogne ; mais tant cet Amiral que l'Envoyé de la Reine à Gènes, ont eu des ordres bien précis, il y a déjà quelque tems, de ne point louer de Vaisseaux, ou contribuer en aucune manière à ce transport. Ils recevront sans perte de tems de nouvelles instructions sur tout ce qu'ils auront à faire, & enfin, Monsieur, l'arrivée du Due d'Argyle finira la guerre en Espagne.

Par votre courier, qui sera dépêché Lundi au plus tard, je vous enverrai une cinquantaine de passeports en blanc, & je continuerai à vous en faire tenir par tous les couriers qui partiront d'ici ; vous aurez la bonté de faire de même, selon la proposition que vous m'avez faite dans votre lettre du 19me de ce mois (N.S.) & à laquelle la Reine a consenti par ma lettre du 12me de ce mois, V.S.

Comme le courier qui vous remettra cette dépêche est chargé de celle qu'on envoie à Turin, aussi-bien que des ordres de sa Majesté ci-dessus mentionnés à Monsieur l'Amiral Jennings, & au commandant des troupes Bri-

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tanniques

tanniques en Catalogne, je dois, Monsieur, vous prier de donner de tels ordres qu'il puisse faire sa course dans le moins de tems qu'il sera possible.

Je vous supplie de croire qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je suis,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

B.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 18th, 1712.

FROM the other office your Lordship will receive an account of what is doing for the Duke of Savoy's interest, in order to keep him united to her Majesty in those measures, which the fury of a faction at home, and the obstinacy of her allies abroad, will render absolutely necessary.

You will almost as soon as this letter comes to your hands, receive in cypher a long detail of what has passed, and by that you will have as clear an image as I am able to convey of our present situation, and of the means by which we have been brought into it.

Since,

Since, according to that system of politics by which our councils have for many years been guided, it is become evident that nothing can be expected but to continue a province to the alliance, it is high time to exert ourselves, and to give the law, instead of submitting to have it given.

To this end, nothing can contribute more than the raising the house of Savoy, and checking the power of that of Austria in Italy, which Britain will be much more able to do than ever, by the possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; I may add, by the use which we shall make of Sicily. If that island had gone to the Emperor, as our wise ministers once designed, it would have been used to mate our power in the Mediterranean, and the Dutch would have made some agreement of that kind. The Duke of Savoy will expect, on the other hand, to be supported by the maritime force of the Queen, from whose generosity he receives the crown; and thus, I think, Great Britain may depend on making hereafter as great a figure in those seas, as she ever did in her own Channel.

May I not add, my Lord, that there arises
a prospect

a prospect of changing the scene of future wars, and removing them to a greater distance from our Island, to a part of the world where we cannot well intervene, unless by our fleets, instead of running into the extravagant, ruinous scheme of maintaining armies on the continent?

The Marquis de St. Thomas *, will forward this express to your Lordship wherever you are, and, I suppose, on the receipt of it, you will immediately repair to Turin?

Your Lordship may be assured, that in all situations either of public or private life, I will live up to the strictest rules of friendship with you, for whose person I have the warmest affection, and for whose character I have the truest esteem. That opinion of your being in the secret of affairs, which your Lordship thinks necessary to be given to the foreign Ministers, will of course follow from the part which you are going to act. Our circumstances have been very unfortunate, and in this instance, among others, that whilst you was kept idle in a part of the world where there was a daily expecta-

* First Minister of State to the Duke of Savoy,

tion

tion of employing you, your Lordship's assistance has been wanting in other places.

I shall trouble you soon with a longer letter, and shall therefore add no more to this, but my sincere wishes for your Lordship's welfare, and my assurances of being,

My Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainebleau, le 28me Juillet, 1712.

LES lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 12-23me de ce mois, confirment parfaitement ce que vous avez écrit précédemment par ordre de la Reine, & le Roi ne doute pas, Monsieur, que l'effet ne suive bientôt les ordres que vous avez envoyés à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, soit pour convenir d'une suspension générale par mer & par terre, soit pour conclure incessamment la paix particulière entre la France & l'Angleterre.

Il n'y aura point de motif plus pressant pour inspirer enfin à vos alliés, l'amour de la paix ; lorsque le premier dépit commence à s'amortir, on fait ordinairement des réflexions

flexions plus sérieuses sur l'avenir, & ceux qui s'opposent encore au rétablissement de la tranquillité publique, ont aujourd'hui bien de raisons qui devroient les guérir de cette manie.

Mais en attendant que les corrections fassent leur effet, il est très nécessaire de confirmer & d'assurer solidement, comme vous le proposez, ce qui a été fait jusqu'à présent pour parvenir à la paix entre la France & la Grande Bretagne. Et comme la suspension générale par mer & par terre entre les deux nations est le premier pas à faire, le Roi consent à tous les articles dont le détail est contenu dans votre lettre.

Sa Majesté approuve aussi les changemens que la Reine propose de faire à quelques-unes des conditions marquées dans la lettre que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire le 19^{me} de ce mois, & généralement toutes les observations que vous faites sur le même sujet, par ordre de sa Majesté Britannique : ainsi, Monsieur, le terme de dix semaines, que j'avois marqué pour les prises qui seront faites dans la Mer Méditerranée, sera réduit à six semaines, & l'on renfermera dans ce terme de dix semaines toutes les prises faites tant depuis

depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les Isles Britanniques, & les Mers du Nord jusqu'au Cap St. Vincent, que depuis & au-delà de ce Cap jusqu'à la Ligne, soit dans l'Océan soit dans la Mer Méditerranée.

Vous jugez bien, Monsieur, que l'intention du Roi n'a jamais été de prétendre que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne s'abstint d'envoyer des troupes ou des munitions à Gibraltar & à Port Mahon ; elle fera certainement plaisir aux Portugais & aux Allemands de contribuer à les retirer de la Catalogne, mais le Roi consent qu'elle rende encore ce bon office à des alliés, qui ne méritent guères d'ailleurs la charité qu'elle a pour eux.

Vous gagnerez beaucoup de tems, & vous procurerez un passage commode à Monsieur le Duc d'Argyle, ou à tel autre Officier que vous enverrez en Espagne pour l'exécution des ordres de la Reine, en les faisant passer par la France ; j'espère avoir l'honneur de voir ici celui que sa Majesté Britannique dépêchera, & de lui offrir tous les services qui dépendent de moi pour la facilité de son voyage.

Le Roi envoie un courier en Espagne pour
informer

informer le Roi Catholique, de toutes les mesures prises avec sa Majesté Britannique. Vous pouvez compter que le blocus de Gibraltar sera levé, & que la garnison & les marchands de cette ville auront une entière liberté de vivre & de négocier avec les Espagnols.

Je m'attends aussi, Monsieur, que le Roi recevra incessamment le projet de l'acte de renonciation que le Roi d'Espagne doit faire à la couronne de France, pour lui & pour ses descendans. Vous savez qu'il a déclaré à ses conseils, la résolution qu'il avoit prise sur ce sujet & qu'elle a été reçue avec de grands applaudissemens.

L'acte de renonciation du Roi d'Espagne à la couronne de France sera solennellement enrégistré, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le mander, dans tous les Parlemens du royaume.

Ce sont, Monsieur, les mesures que le Roi a prises, & comme vous savez, de concert avec la Reine, pour établir solidement la séparation des monarchies de France & d'Espagne, & pour empêcher qu'elles ne soient jamais réunies sur la tête du même Prince.

J'espère-

J'espère que le terme de deux mois suffira pour avoir la renonciation du Roi d'Espagne & pour la faire enrégistrer dans les Parlemens.

Il faudra plus de tems pour faire assembler les Cortes de la Monarchie d'Espagne, mais le principal, & même l'essentiel est que la renonciation du Roi Catholique soit donnée & enrégistrée en France dans les tribunaux où elle doit demeurer.

Quant à la prolongation de la suspension d'armes, j'espère, Monsieur, qu'elle ne sera pas nécessaire, & qu'une bonne paix prévendra l'expiration du terme de deux mois. Il faut lever au plutôt toute incertitude sur le rétablissement d'une parfaite intelligence entre la France & l'Angleterre, & l'on ne peut assez promptement terminer définitivement une affaire, dont la conclusion est désirée & regardée comme avantageuse de part & d'autre.

En attendant qu'elle puisse être conduite à ce point, le Roi me commande de vous envoyer vingt passeports, non-seulement pour les paquet-bots, que la Reine souhaite, avec raison, d'établir dès cette semaine de Dovre à Calais, mais encore pour d'autres vaisseaux

Anglois à qui vous jugerez à-propos de les distribuer. Je vous prie aussi, Monsieur, de m'envoyer le même nombre de passeports de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, afin que les François & les Anglois commencent à jouir du bien de la paix, avant qu'elle soit encore achevée.

Ces premiers effets d'une bonne intelligence feront peut-être ouvrir les yeux aux ennemis du repos public, & la crainte des suites d'une correspondance parfaite peut les rendre plus dociles que toutes les bonnes raisons, employées jusqu'à présent inutilement, pour leur persuader.

Le Roi juge, comme je vous l'ai déjà marqué, qu'il n'y en a point de plus forte, que de faire un bon usage des villes que vous occupez dans les Pays-Bas. Ainsi sa Majesté croit que bien loin de rappeler en Angleterre Monsieur le Duc d'Ormond, & les troupes qu'il commande, il faut les laisser en Flandres jusqu'à ce que la paix générale soit faite.

Les ordres du Roi, contenant les conditions de la suspension, furent envoyés à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht le 18^{me} de ce mois ; le courier ordinaire qui les por-

toit jusqu'à Valenciennes, quoique muni d'un passeport des ennemis, fut arrêté auprès de cette ville par quelque hussards de l'armée de Monseigneur le Prince Eugène; les lettres dont il étoit chargé furent prises, & comme elles n'avoient pas encore été rendues il y a deux jours, ce retardement empêchera que Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires ne soient instruits des intentions de sa Majesté, lorsque ceux de la Reine recevront les ordres que vous leur avez envoyés. J'espère que le courier que le Roi me commande de leur dépêcher aujourd'hui, passera plus heureusement, & que ce retardement sera réparé.

Aussitôt que la convention pour la suspension générale par mer & par terre sera signée, sa Majesté expédiera des bâtimens pour la faire publier dans toutes les colonies de l'Amérique. Elle compte aussi, Monsieur, qu'il en fera usé de même de la part de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

Après vous avoir informé de tout ce que le Roi veut faire pour la satisfaction de sa Majesté Britannique, je voudrois pouvoir passer sous silence l'article qui regarde Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, car il est presque

VOL. II.

H h

impossible

impossible que les refus ne soient désagréables & à celui qui les fait, & à celui qui les reçoit. Je vous assure, Monsieur, que la Reine n'y feroit pas exposée, si les demandes qu'elle fait en faveur de ce Prince n'étoient directement contraires aux intérêts, à la justice, & à l'honneur du Roi.

Ce seroit ouvrir le royaume, en donner les clefs à Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, & laisser le Dauphiné à sa disposition, que de lui abandonner ce qu'il demande au-delà du Rhône, Briançon, & le fort Barraux. Prenez la peine, Monsieur, d'examiner seulement la carte du pays, & vous jugerez vous-même, si sa Majesté pourroit, avec sûreté pour ses provinces, accorder de pareilles prétensions.

Il seroit contre la justice de transiger du bien de Monseigneur le Prince de Monaco, en cédant les droits qui lui ont toujours appartenus sur Menton & sur Roquebrune, & ce seroit le livrer au ressentiment que Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye conserve depuis long-tems contre lui, que de retirer la garnison Françoisse de Monaco, au préjudice des traités, pour y laisser entrer une garnison Piémontoise, & donner à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye,

voye, un moyen facile d'exercer pleinement sa vengeance.

Outre ces considérations, on doit regarder Monaco comme un poste dont le Roi doit conserver la garde pour la sûreté de la Provence.

Monfieur le Duc de Savoye connoît trop l'importance de ces places pour espérer que sa Majesté les lui cède ; & je puis vous assurer, Monsieur, qu'en même-tems qu'il les représente à la Reine comme peu considérable, il n'insiste pour les obtenir, que dans l'espérance qu'il a que la Sicile lui sera donnée comme une espèce d'équivalent.

Mais vous savez quels sont les engagements du Roi avec l'Electeur de Bavière, & sa Majesté a trop bonne opinion des Ministres de la Grande Bretagne, pour croire qu'aucun d'eux la presse d'agir contre sa parole & contre son honneur. Elle a jugé que la Reine, instruite de ses intentions sur la Sicile, n'avoit d'autre vue pour les avantages de Monfieur le Duc de Savoye, que de le substituer, lui & ses descendans, au Roi d'Espagne & aux descendans de sa Majesté Catholique, si malheureusement ils venoient à manquer dans la suite de tems ; mais jamais le Roi

n'a pu se persuader que le dessein de la Reine fût d'ôter en même-tems, à l'Electeur de Bavière les Pays-Bas que le Roi d'Espagne lui a cédés, & le royaume de Sicile que sa Majesté regardoit comme un dédommagement de ces provinces. Si l'Electeur étoit obligé de les abandonner pour le bien de la paix, il est également de l'intérêt de la France & de l'Angleterre, que le royaume de Sicile ne retombe pas au pouvoir de la maison d'Autriche, mais il est de l'honneur du Roi que l'Electeur de Bavière soit dédommagé, & sa Majesté y est obligée par les engagements qu'elle a pris avec ce Prince.

Il faut donc de deux choses l'une : ou que l'Electeur de Bavière obtienne, par la paix, la propriété & la possession des Pays-Bas, tels qu'ils lui ont été cédés par le Roi d'Espagne, outre la restitution de son électorat, ou bien que le royaume de Sicile lui soit donné comme un équivalent des Pays-Bas.

Dans le premier cas, le Roi se feroit fort d'obtenir du Roi d'Espagne la cession de la Sicile en faveur de Monsieur le Duc de Savoie. Sans cette condition, sa Majesté est engagée à procurer la Sicile à l'Electeur, comme

comme elle s'en est expliquée il y a long-tems à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

Si vous dites, Monsieur, qu'il n'est pas au pouvoir de sa Majesté Britannique d'assurer les Bays-Bas à l'Electeur de Bavière, vous me permettrez de vous répondre, que ce Prince est déjà maître de Luxembourg, de Namur, de Charleroy, & de Nieuport ; que Monsieur le Duc d'Ormonde est en Flandres avec une bonne armée ; qu'il ne tient qu'à la Reine d'avoir des troupes dans Gand & dans Bruges, comme elle en a déjà dans Dunkerque. Que l'Electeur de Bavière consentira volontiers de voir ces places gardées par les troupes Angloises.

Ainsi, la Sicile seroit donnée à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye ; mais il est nécessaire de vous avertir que l'incertitude de la destinée de ce royaume, donne présentement à la maison d'Autriche de nouvelles armes pour le faire soulever.

L'agitation est grande dans cette île ; & les Siciliens, actuellement inquiets, se porteront facilement à quelque résolution favorable aux Allemands, si l'on ne décide promptement du Prince à qui ce royaume doit appartenir.

H h 3

Vous

Vous jugerez aisément, Monsieur, que, les choses en cet état, je ne pourrai rien écrire à Turin par le courier que vous devez faire passer par la France. Il y auroit, ce me semble, d'autres avantages à procurer à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, du côté du Milanès, & l'opiniâtreté de la Cour de Vienne devoit y donner lieu. Songez-y, s'il vous plaît, songez aussi que la Reine a déjà beaucoup fait pour des alliés ingrats, qu'il feroit de sa gloire de contribuer au bonheur d'un Prince plein de mérite tel que l'Electeur de Bavière, & dont la reconnoissance égalera certainement les bienfaits qu'il recevra.

Je vous demande pardon d'une aussi longue lettre, & je vous prie de croire qu'on ne peut être plus absolument que je suis,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainebleau, le 28^{me} Juillet, 1712.

COMME on ne peut finir trop promptement les affaires dont la conclusion est également

ment souhaitée de part & d'autre, le Roi a jugé que ce seroit un moyen d'abrégér l'affaire de la suspension, que de vous envoyer le traité tout dressé, & que sa Majesté m'a commandé de signer. Si la Reine approuve cet expédient, elle aura la bonté de donner ses ordres pour le faire signer aussi en son nom. Ainsi, Monsieur, je vous enverrois la ratification du Roi sur l'exemplaire que je recevrais de vous, par le retour du courier que je vous dépêche, & par ce moyen, on avanceroit de plusieurs jours la publication & l'exécution de la suspension.

Le Roi laisse, donc, à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne à décider si ce traité doit être signé de la manière que je vous le propose, ou bien à Utrecht. Je crois que vous ne trouverez pas de difficulté sur les conditions, car j'ai suivi très exactement ce que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire par votre dernière lettre.

Je vous supplie de croire que je suis,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

J'ai laissé en blanc l'espace de tems que doit durer la suspension, le Roi remettant à

H h 4

la

la Reine de le remplir. Il paroît cependant nécessaire d'observer, qu'une suspension de deux mois seulement n'auroit point de rapport avec les termes qu'on stipule pour la restitution réciproque des effets qui seront pris sur mer. Si la Reine veut que le traité que je vous envoie, Monsieur, soit signé à Londres, ainsi que le Roi m'a commandé de le signer ici, je vous supplie, outre l'exemplaire que je vous demande pour y mettre ma signature, de m'envoyer aussi, en même-temps, la ratification de sa Majesté Britannique; aussi-tôt que je l'aurai reçue, je vous enverrai la ratification du Roi par un courrier.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

Fontainebleau, le 28^{me} Juillet, 1712.

JE n'ai pas voulu, Monsieur, mêler dans les lettres d'affaire le compliment très sincère que je vous fais sur la justice que la Reine a bien voulu faire aux services importants que vous lui rendez. J'ose vous assurer que personne n'y sauroit être plus sensible que je suis, & ne souhaite d'avantage que cette grâce soit suivie de toutes les récompences
que

Que vous méritez. Vous le devez attendre, Monsieur, d'une Princesse aussi éclairée, qui connoît aussi parfaitement votre zèle pour sa gloire, & votre capacité.

Je vous supplie aussi de croire que je m'intéresserai toujours à votre satisfaction, aussi véritablement que je suis,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

J'espère que Monsieur Calandrin me rendra justice auprès de vous, Monsieur. Il fait que je n'ometts rien pour faire terminer ses affaires ; il fait aussi, qu'on est bien disposé à lui faire plaisir, & j'espère qu'enfin les effets répondront aux bonnes intentions.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

Dé Whitehall, ce 21^{me} Juillet, 1712.

ON ne peut pas être plus sensible que je suis, Monsieur, à toutes vos bontés, & je vous rends mes très humbles grâces, de ce que vous prenez si obligeamment part à l'honneur que la Reine vient de me faire.

Il n'y a rien que je souhaite plus que de mériter votre estime, & de la manière dont
je

je suis fait, l'amitié d'un homme comme vous, me sera plus chère que tous les titres du monde. C'est de quoi je vous prie d'être persuadé aussi-bien que de la vérité avec laquelle je fais profession d'être, Monsieur,

Votre, &c.

B.

Monsieur Calandrin est trop heureux d'avoir trouvé un protecteur aussi généreux & aussi puissant que vous. Son cœur est pénétré de toutes vos bontés. J'espère qu'enfin les effets répondront à vos bonnes intentions ; ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que je vous en aurai une obligation éternelle.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Whitehall, ce 21^{me} Juillet, 1712.

J'AI reçu hier au soir, par la Vigne, l'honneur de votre lettre du 28^{me} de ce mois, N.S. Comme j'allois dans ce tems à la cour, j'ai voulu y mener avec moi l'Abbé Gaultier, afin qu'il pût voir lui-même l'effet qu'elle produiroit.

Je vous puis assurer, Monsieur, que jamais

mais lettre n'a produit deux effets plus différents.

La Reine a vu avec la plus grande satisfaction du monde que la suspension d'armes étoit réglée, & pouvoit être dans peu de jours publiée, ce qu'elle regarde comme le moyen le plus efficace de rendre particulièrement les Etats-Généraux dociles, & d'augmenter dans ce pays-ci le nombre de ceux qui souhaitent la paix : de l'autre côté sa Majesté a vu avec beaucoup de surprise & de regret, que le Roi Très Chrétien insiste à l'heure qu'il est, ou que les Pays-Bas Catholiques soient cédés au ci-devant Electeur de Bavière, ou que ce Prince soit fait Roi de Sicile.

La première proposition ne peut avoir lieu ; puisque dans les offres que vos Ministres ont faites à Utrecht, & dans le plan de la paix générale que vous avez dressé sur ce qui s'est passé entre Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne & ceux de la France, il est dit, que les Pays-Bas Catholiques, hors ce qui en restera au Roi, & l'exception de Gueldre, appartiendront en propriété à la maison d'Autriche ; & puisqu'il faudroit absolument recommencer une nouvelle

velle guerre pour obliger les Impériaux & les Hollandois à y consentir.

Le ci-devant Electeur de Bavière est maître de Luxembourg, de Namur, de Charleroi, & de Nienport, il ne tient qu'à la Reine d'avoir des troupes dans Gand, & dans Bruges ; mais, Monsieur, les Etats-Généraux sont en possession de tout le reste de ces provinces : l'armée des alliés est très considérable, tant par le nombre que par la bonté de ses troupes, & l'échec qu'elle vient de recevoir au camp de Denain, ne la mettra pas hors d'état de défendre les conquêtes qu'elle a faites, quand elle étoit renforcée & soutenue par la Reine. Enfin, Monsieur, il ne convient ni à l'honneur ni aux intérêts de sa Majesté de faire la guerre contre ses alliés, tout ingrats qu'ils aient été, en faveur d'un Prince dont elle a plaint le sort, & pour lequel elle croit avoir assez fait en promettant d'insister que par le traité de paix, une partie de ses états, qu'il a tous perdus par les armes, lui soit rendue.

La seconde proposition a été à la vérité faite dans le plan dont je viens de parler, mais la Reine, bien loin d'y consentir, n'a jamais pu se persuader que cet article seroit

capable d'accrocher la négociation. Vous me renvoyez, Monsieur, à la carte, sur un autre sujet : permettez-moi, s'il vous plaît, de vous y renvoyer sur celui-ci. Jetez-y seulement l'œil, & vous ne manquerez pas de tomber d'accord qu'il y a une très grande incompatibilité dans la proposition de donner au même Prince, le royaume de Sicile & l'électorat de Bavière ; une telle disposition causeroit des jaloufies continuelles, & deviendroit une source de disputes & de querelles, particulièrement entre ces nations dont l'union étroite & l'amitié indiffoluble font les points de vue auxquels nous avons dirigé nos mesures depuis si long-tems.

Les Ministres de la Reine sont bien éloignés de souhaiter que le Roi agisse contre sa parole, & contre son honneur ; mais, Monsieur, après avoir fait pour son allié tous les efforts qu'il peut raisonnablement exiger, il faut faire quelque chose pour l'amour de la paix, & il faut que l'intérêt d'un particulier cède à l'intérêt général de l'Europe. Vous sentirez, sans doute, la force de cet argument, puisque vous n'ignorez pas que cette négociation a été commencée & continuée sur la supposition que la Reine devoit se relâcher

lâcher de plusieurs conditions qu'à la rigueur elle étoit obligée de procurer pour ses alliés.

Je ne vous ennuierai plus, Monsieur, par de longs raisonnemens. Vous voyez aussi bien que moi, de quelle conséquence il est dans la conjoncture présente, que la paix soit faite entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, & l'Espagne. Les sages dispositions de la Providence ont rendu praticable ce qu'on n'auroit pas osé espérer il y quelque tems ; servons-nous de l'occasion, & ne perdons pas le fruit de tous nos travaux.

Il y auroit beaucoup à dire sur la barrière demandée par Monsieur le Duc de Savoye. Sa Majesté est persuadée que la France ne peut avoir rien à craindre de ce Prince ; mais il est évident qu'à moins qu'on ne lui a déjà offert, il y aura beaucoup à craindre pour lui. La Reine est bien éloignée de vouloir l'aggrandir du côté de la France, & aux dépens de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne ; elle ne veut que sa sûreté, & elle ne doute point que cette sûreté ne puisse être établie à la satisfaction réciproque du Roi & de son Altesse Royale, dans le traité de paix qui se fera avec elle, auquel traité la discussion ultérieure de ces points peut être renvoyée ;
mais,

mais, Monsieur, j'ai ordre de vous dire que la Reine ne veut pas en aucune façon se départir de ce qu'elle a proposé au Roi dans ma lettre du 17 & 18 de ce mois, V.S. touchant le droit de son Altesse Royale, après le Roi Philippe & ses descendans, à la couronne d'Espagne & des Indes ; & touchant la cession immédiate du royaume de Sicile à sa dite Altesse Royale, elle insiste & elle insistera toujours là-dessus ; & après tout ce qu'elle a fait, & tout ce qu'elle doit faire pour assurer la conclusion de la paix générale, elle croit devoir s'attendre à une telle facilité de la part de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne.

Vous m'avez souvent répété, Monsieur, qu'il n'y a point de tems à perdre ; j'en tombe d'accord avec vous ; mais nous en perdrons, & nous continuerons à en perdre, jusqu'à ce que ce point soit réglé. Nos Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht resteront dans l'inaction ; le voyage du Duc d'Argyle, qui devoit partir pour l'Espagne, & concerter avec vous en y passant les moyens nécessaires pour finir tout d'un coup la guerre dans ce pays-là, sera différé ; les ordres qui devoient être envoyés demain à Monsieur le Chevalier

lier Jennings, qui commande la flotte de sa Majesté dans la Méditerranée, seront remis à une autre fois; & enfin ce transport de troupes de la côté de Gènes en Catalogne, dont vous vous plaignez, se continuera.

J'attendrai avec impatience le retour de la Vigne, renvoyez-le s'il vous plaît, Monsieur, avec la dernière diligence, afin que nous sachions de part & d'autre à quoi nous tenir.

Il ne seroit nullement à-propos que les dépêches, dont mon courier qui partit d'ici Samedi passé, étoit chargé, allassent à Turin; c'est pourquoi, Monsieur, je vous supplie de lui faire rendre l'ordre ci-inclus, en cas que vous l'ayez retenu; & si par malheur il eût continué son voyage, ayez la bonté d'envoyer le même ordre après lui par un de vos couriers, qui sachant la langue, & connoissant mieux la route, ne manquera pas de l'attraper.

Vous avez raison, Monsieur, quand vous dites qu'il est impossible que le refus ne soit désagréable & à celui qui les fait & à celui qui les reçoit. Je n'ai jamais reçu de lettre qui m'a fait plus de peine que celle qui m'a
été

été rendue hier de votre part, & je vous assure que je n'en ai jamais écrite avec moins de plaisir que celle-ci. Je suis,

Monseigneur, votre, &c.

B.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

THE other dispatch contains such matters of business, as I am directed to write to your Grace upon; this private letter comes only to return you my most humble thanks for your obliging compliment. I am like a man on a chess-board, and her Majesty may remove me as she thinks best for her game. In the House of Commons I did the best service I could; in the House of Lords my zeal will be the same; but that to me is a new world, and I hope my friends will show me the way in it. Lady Tug has a great deal of merit, and for her sake, I hope a favourable report from your Grace will procure a favourable answer from the Queen.

VOL. II.

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I never doubted Mr. Roß *, he is a man of honour, and I have taken occasion, from your Grace's letter, to do him justice to the Queen, who will be brought, I hope, at last, to take such measures as may make the army her own. Nothing can contribute more to this end than just distinctions, and steady management. I am ever, with the truest respect, your Grace's, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

I OWN to your Lordship, that your letter of the 26th, brought me by Barton from the army, gave me a great deal of uneasiness.

I do so much justice to your merit upon every occasion, and have a heart so warm with zeal for your service, and affection to your person, that whenever you seem but to doubt thereof, or to take umbrage at any loose expression which falls, perhaps too neg-

* Lieutenant-general Roß, soon afterwards appointed Ambassador to Versailles.

ligently,

ligerly, from my pen, I own I am thoroughly shocked. You and I, my Lord, have been fellow-labourers in the most necessary, but at the same time, the most difficult and perilous negotiation, that has ever been carried on. I flatter myself that you have discovered constancy in my proceedings, and firmness and sincerity in my temper. Depend upon it, the same character shall be supported by me in my private life, and I will be as resolutely true to the interest of my friend, as to that of my country.

Your merit in all the late transactions at the army, every creature sees and acknowledges; and I need not mention the reason why I was much more careful in penning my compliment to the Duke of Ormond, than to your Lordship: but enough of this; be assured, once for all, that in me you have a faithful servant, and that no danger, no actual misfortune, could be able to separate me from your Lordship.

I am to thank you, my Lord, for the very kind part which you took in the honour her Majesty was lately pleased to confer upon me. It would ill become the friendship I profess to you, if I did not naturally own

what passes in my soul upon this subject, and confess to you, what I will do to no one else, that my promotion was a mortification to me. In the House of Commons, I may say, that I was at the head of business, and I must have continued so, whether I had been in court or out of court. There was therefore nothing to flatter my ambition in removing me from thence, but giving me the title which had been many years in my family, and which reverted to the crown about a year ago, by the death of the last of the elder house *. To make me a peer was no great compliment, when so many others were forced to be made to gain a strength in Parliament; and since the Queen wanted me below stairs in the last session, she could do no less than make me a Viscount, or I must have come in the rear of several whom I was not born to follow. Thus far, there seems to be nothing done for my sake, or as a mark of favour to me in particular; and yet farther, her Majesty would not go without a force, which never shall be used by me. I own to you that I felt more indignation than ever in my life I had done;

* The Earldom, granted in 1624, and extinct 1711.

and

and the only consideration which kept me from running to extremities, was that which should have inclined somebody to use me better *. I knew that any appearance of breach between myself and the Lord Treasurer, would give our common enemies spirit, and that if I declined serving at this conjuncture, the home part of the business would, at least for some time, proceed but lamely. To friendship therefore, and the public good, if I may be pardoned so vain an expression, I sacrificed my private resentment, and remain clothed with as little of the Queen's favour as she could contrive to bestow.

The other dispatch contains all that can serve to give your Lordship light into our present situation. I shall therefore say no more upon that head but this, that it appears evidently to be the interest of the Queen, as well as of France, to make use of the ill-behaviour of the allies, and to settle our affairs before they come to cry *peccavimus*,

* Harley, in his Brief Account, says, when the creation of Peers took place, December, 1711, it was proposed to the Secretary that if he would be content to remain in the House of Commons that session, her Majesty would create him a Peer, and that he should not lose his rank.

and to beg the Queen's intercession, which she cannot refuse without reluctance, nor grant without prejudice.

It is a melancholy consideration that the laws of our country are too weak to punish effectually those factious scribblers, who presume to blacken the brightest characters, and to give even scurrilous language to those who are in the first degrees of honour. This, my Lord, among others, is a symptom of the decayed condition of our government, and serves to show how fatally we mistake licentiousness for liberty. All I could do was to take up Hurt, the printer, to send him to Newgate, and to bind him over upon bail to be prosecuted; this I have done, and if I can arrive at legal proof against the author, Ridpath, he shall have the same treatment*.

The

* Hurt was bailed; Redpath, the editor of the Flying Post, was taken up a few days after. It appears by a letter of the former, that to make his peace with Government, he promised to send the communications he should receive from the country, to the Secretary's office. In the following year, a Mr. Bonet offered proposals for a patent to the following effect: to have the sole liberty of printing all advertisements, except such as shall be printed in the London Gazette; he alleges that the profit arising from advertisements, is the great encouragement to printers of newspapers, and that if that benefit were taken from them, most of them would cease to print, by which means a great deal of scandalous reflections, &c.
would

The Queen went yesterday to Hampton Court, and I think goes this day to Windsor. She is in perfect health; God grant she may long continue so; for my own part, I see nothing but confusion after her. Mr. Harley is very sparing of his letters, but by what he does write, I do not perceive that he makes any great progress in couching the eyes of the blindest Court in Europe.

Adieu, my dear Lord, I am, and ever will be, unalterably, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

I MOST heartily thank your Lordship for the favourable thoughts which you are pleased to entertain of me, and for the part you take in the honour which her Majesty has lately done me. I knew a little of the House of Commons, but the House of Lords is a new scene, and I must hope for the

would be prevented. He proposes to print every day a paper called the Daily Advertiser, the price of each advertisement 3s. 6d. viz. 1s. for the duty, and 2s. 6d. for the publisher. Bonnet's paper is dated 19th August, 1713.

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charitable

charitable assistance of my friends and fellow servants to guide me through it.

Your Lordship will very well understand, by what is said in my public dispatch, the sense of the Queen in relation to her allies, and in relation to the utility of making her peace, without staying till they repent, and she consequently become again embarrassed by their pretensions.

It is, my Lord, most certain, that if we take advantage of the unjustifiable conduct of these Princes, and make a saving of all the arrears due to them, as well as the growing pay of their troops, we shall open the next session in so popular a manner, as to render it extremely short and easy. Whereas, should we yield to pay these demands, we shall involve ourselves in great difficulties, and occasion among our best and surest friends infinite discontent.

I confess to your Lordship that there is another reason, which has very great weight with me, and the same with my Lord Treasurer, why we should take advantage of what has happened at the army, and stick to the declaration made in the Queen's name to the foreign Ministers, and that is this:
among

among other misfortunes brought upon us by the sanguine manner in which we began this war, and the rash desperate councils which carried it on, there is none greater than many impolitic, nay, even contradictory, engagements and guaranties, wherein the Crown was from time to time scandalously dipped, in order to get over such as arose, and related more to other people than to us ; or in order to raise the reputation, and increase the profit of particular men, at the expence of pawning the crown, which I take somewhat more infamous than stealing it, as Blood attempted to do. Now, my Lord, the higher the Queen's resentment is at this time carried, the longer she holds off from being pacified, the better opportunity she has to free herself from these shackles, and particularly to put herself on a foot of pursuing, as to the Northern affairs, the true interest of Britain, of the Protestant cause, and indeed of Europe.

I only touch these things, I need say no more to one who knows them so well as your Lordship, and I hope you will excuse me from saying so much.

Surely, my Lord, what you did towards
5 moderating

moderating the duties on the four species can have no ill effect, and must have the same good one as the rest of your conduct since you have been in Holland will have, that, mean, of throwing those mad politicians so much more in the wrong.

I hope the courier dispatched with my last letter to Monsieur de Torcy, will return on Saturday; my opinion is, he will bring us a satisfactory answer, and in this case, the suspension of arms will immediately take place, and I hope our peace will be immediately signed. I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

YOUR letter of the 21st, N.S. came to my hands on the 19th, O.S. by Couchman, and her Majesty is very well pleased to find the Electoral family so just to her, as to acknowledge in a manner becoming them, her care of their interest. I am sorry to hear, but not surprized, that the Elector's answers, when he condescends to give any, concerning the peace, are such as his Minister

ster used to honour me with. It is to be hoped, that he will not long resist that conviction, which the truth you do not fail to tell him carries along with it. But be that as it will, her Majesty pursues, and will continue to pursue the true interest, so long neglected, and even sacrificed, of her own kingdoms in the first place, and that of her allies, as far forth as they will suffer her, in the second.

Surely you judged very rightly in applying yourself to the Elector, and not to his Ministers, who are not famous for much capacity, and who are under the farther disadvantage of being blinded by prejudice.

As to your return, my Lord Treasurer has taken that matter out of my hands, and has promised to write to you upon it by the next post. I understood that it was not his intention you should continue in that country, after the Elector goes to the Ghenre *.

I recommend my brother to your protection, and have directed him to return home when you do.

I cannot help adding, that we ought to

* Thus in the copy, it probably should be the Gohrde.

be better or worse with the Court of Hannover than we are.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainebleau, le 4^{me} d'Août, 1712.

JE reçus hier, par un de vos couriers, les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire les 17-28^{me} Juillet ; & ce matin celle du 21^{me} Juillet.....1^{me} Août, m'a été rendue par le courier que je vous avois dépêché le 26^{me}, & que vous m'avez renvoyé avec la Vigne.

Si ma lettre du 28^{me} vous a fait de la peine, je vous assure, Monsieur, que je n'en ai pas moins de voir par la réponse, que les intérêts étrangers arrêtent la conclusion de la paix, dans le tems qu'elle paroïssoit aussi prochaine qu'infallible. Je ne pouvois craindre un naufrage à la vue du port, & malgré les nouvelles difficultés, j'espère encore que la réponse que j'attends de vous, Monsieur, à la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire aujourd'hui, nous consolera, vous & moi, du chagrin que nos deux dernières lettres nous ont causé réciproquement.

Il faut, pour cet effet, contenter la Reine
sur

sur l'article de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, mais il est nécessaire aussi qu'elle considère les engagements du Roi envers l'Electeur de Bavière, & qu'elle facilite à sa Majesté les moyens de satisfaire à la parole qu'elle a donnée à un allié, dont la fidélité ne peut recevoir aucune reproche, & qui depuis plusieurs années seroit privé de ses états pour avoir accompli ses promesses.

Il est vrai, Monsieur, qu'il faut faire quelque chose pour l'amour de la paix, & qu'il est juste que l'intérêt particulier cède à l'intérêt général de l'Europe ; mais vous ne disconviez pas aussi, que le Roi n'ait senti la force de cet argument. Les cessions que sa Majesté a faites, en sont des preuves, ajoutez-y ce qu'elle offre encore pour la paix générale, la renonciation du Roi d'Espagne, le nombre & la considération des états qu'il veut abandonner, les assurances positives & réelles que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne a reçues de la sincérité du Roi, avant que d'avoir elle-même pris aucun engagement. Vous avouerez, Monsieur, que jamais Monarque n'a tant fait pour l'amour de la paix, ni porté aussi loin les facilités pour le rétablissement du repos général de l'Europe.

Sa

Sa Majesté n'a déguisé ni ses engagements ni ses intentions, pour l'Electeur de Bavière. Vous appellerez, Monsieur, le plan de la paix générale qui a été dressé par ordre du Roi. Vous y trouverez que lorsque la Sicile a été demandée pour la maison d'Autriche par Messieurs vos Plénipotentiaires, le Roi a répondu que ce royaume étoit le seul dédommagement que cet Electeur peut obtenir, s'il étoit obligé de se défaire de la cession qui lui a été faite des Pays-Bas, & que sa Majesté aussi-bien que le Roi d'Espagne, s'étoient engagés à lui donner un dédommagement de ses pertes, que ce seroit donc à condition d'avoir la Sicile qu'il céderoit ses droits sur les Pays-Bas Espagnols ; qu'il consentiroit aussi, sous la même condition, à laisser à l'Electeur Palatin, sa vie durant, & après lui au Prince Charles de Neubourg son frère, le haut Palatinat, avec la dignité & le rang de premier Electeur, parce que le titre de Roi effaceroit ce qu'il y auroit d'injurieux dans la perte que l'Electeur de Bavière feroit du premier rang qu'il occupoit dans le Collège Electoral.

Voilà, Monsieur, ce que porte le plan, que

que vous avez cité, & que je ne rappelle à mon tour que pour vous faire voir que le Roi n'a point varié sur les articles qu'il contient. L'Abbé Gaultier doit vous avoir dit plusieurs fois, que sa Majesté en ayant bien pesé toutes les conditions, ne se relâcheroit sur aucune, & qu'elle croyoit donner à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, une marque particulière de sa confiance, en lui déposant le secret de ses dernières intentions.

Si le Roi demandoit présentement de nouveaux avantages, les ennemis de la paix ne manqueroient pas de dire, que le succès des armées de sa Majesté change ses sentimens; mais vous savez qu'il y a près de quatre mois que je vous ai mandé la même chose que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire aujourd'hui, & le Roi croit devoir attendre présentement, aussi-bien qu'alors, les marques réciproques de l'envie que la Reine a de lui faire plaisir. Il est certain qu'il n'y aura point de plus sensible pour sa Majesté, que celui de satisfaire à ses engagements envers un allié qu'elle ne peut jamais abandonner.

Vous me répondrez que la Reine pense de même à l'égard de Monsieur le Duc de Savoie : c'est aussi par cette raison que j'ai
marque

marqué dans le commencement de ma lettre, qu'il falloit contenter sa Majesté Britannique sur l'article de ce Prince, & le Roi a résolu de faire la principale partie de ce qu'elle souhaite, pourvu qu'elle veuille aider aussi sa Majesté en procurant quelque satisfaction à l'Electeur de Bavière. Je vous proposerai dans la suite de ma lettre les expédiens qu'on y pourroit employer.

La Reine demande, en faveur de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, que le Roi déclare, dès à présent, que sa Majesté reconnoît le droit de ce Prince à la succession de l'Espagne & des Indes, après le Roi Catholique & ses descendans; qu'elle promette que le Roi d'Espagne, & les états de cette monarchie, le reconnoîtront aussi; que les Princes de France, spécialement Monseigneur le Duc de Berry, & Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans approuveront, ratifieront, & confirmeront tout ce qui sera fait pour la reconnoissance du droit de succession: que de plus, sa Majesté promette à Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, tant pour elle que pour le Roi son petit-fils, l'exécution de tout ce qui sera trouvé nécessaire pour assurer à ce Prince, & à sa famille, la succession de la Couronne d'Espagne &
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des Indes, au défaut du Roi Catholique & de ses descendans ; qu'elle promette particulièrement que le Roi d'Espagne dispensera de sa propre volonté, & de son autorité, ses sujets de tous les sermens contraires qu'ils peuvent avoir prêtés ; qu'il les revoquera, & annullera, de même que toutes déclarations telles qu'elles soient qu'ils auroient en faveur des Princes de son sang.

Vous avez vu, Monsieur, par ma lettre du 28me, que le Roi s'attendoit à des demandes, à peu pareilles pour la substitution de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, & de ses descendans, à la couronne d'Espagne. Ainsi sa Majesté ne fait nulle difficulté de les accorder, & de s'engager, pour le Roi son petit-fils, & pour les Princes de son sang, à faire donner les actes de reconnoissance & de confirmation spécifiées dans votre lettre du 17me-28me Juillet.

Elle consent aussi que ces actes soient donnés en même-tems que les sûretés à prendre pour empêcher à jamais la réunion des deux monarchies recevront leur dernier accomplissement. Mais il faut, pour cet effet, que Monsieur le Duc de Savoye soit en paix avec le Roi, & avec le Roi d'Es-

pagne ; une simple suspension ne souffriroit pas, & il ne soit pas juste d'appeller à la succession de la monarchie d'Espagne & des Indes, un Prince qui seroit encore actuellement au nombre des ennemis de cette couronne.

Il est donc nécessaire que la paix générale ne se faisant pas encore, il s'en fasse une particulière entre la France, l'Angleterre, l'Espagne, & le Duc de Savoye.

Outre la substitution en faveur de ce Prince, le Roi d'Espagne, lui cédera par le même traité de paix particulière, qui est l'acte le plus authentique qu'on puisse faire, la Sicile. Il déclarera comme vous l'avez proposé, qu'en vertu de cette cession, il tiendra, jusqu'à la conclusion de la paix générale, le royaume de Sicile, pour, & au nom seulement de Monsieur le Duc de Savoye.

Que ce Prince en exécution du traité pourra prendre possession de ce royaume toutefois & quantes il lui plaira, aussi-tôt que la paix générale aura été ratifié.

Qu'en ce même-tems le Roi d'Espagne dispensera les peuples de ce royaume de tous sermens de fidélité à son égard, qu'il leur ordonnera

ordonnera de reconnoître Monsieur le Duc de Savoye pour leur Roi & Souverain légitime.

Que les galères & autres bâtimens appartenans à la Sicile, avec leurs équipages feront en même-tems cédés & remis à ce Prince, ainsi que tous les titres, papiers, & documens qui concernent le royaume de Sicile.

Les autres clauses, dont vous me parlez, Monsieur, pour les sûretés & garanties de toutes conditions, dont on conviendra avec Monsieur le Duc de Savoye, seront aussi insérées dans le traité, de même que la promesse de le maintenir dans la possession de tout ce qui lui en a été cédé en vertu du traité conclu à Turin, le 8^{me} Novembre, 1703, avec l'Empereur Leopold.

Voilà, Monsieur, la principale & la plus importante partie des demandes que la Reine fait en faveur de ce Prince, & que le Roi veut lui accorder aux conditions suivantes :

La première, que ce soit par un traité de paix particulière entre la France, la Grande Bretagne, l'Espagne, & le Duc de Savoye, & non en vue seulement d'une simple suspension d'armes pour un tems.

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La seconde, que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne s'engage à procurer, de concert avec le Roi, le rétablissement de l'Électeur de Bavière dans ses états & dignités, à l'exception du premier rang dans le Collège Electoral, dont l'Électeur Palatin, & le Prince Charles son frère, après lui, jouissant, leur vie durant, ainsi que j'en ai déjà marqué, & le dédommagement de l'Électeur suivant l'un des deux expédiens que je vais vous proposer. Le premier est que ce Prince conserve la souveraineté & la propriété des deux provinces des Pay-Bas Catholiques dont il est présentement en possession; savoir, le duché de Luxembourg & le comté de Namur, avec les villes & les forteresses de ce nom, & généralement, tout ce qui en dépend, aussi-bien que Charleroi & Nieuport. Le Roi consentiroit même qu'il fût disposé de Nieuport, ainsi que la Reine le jugeroit le plus à-propos. En acceptant cet expédient elle ne feroit pas obligée à faire la guerre à ses alliés en faveur d'un Prince dont elle plaint le sort, car il est actuellement en possession des provinces & des places que le Roi propose de lui conserver.

Comme il est même nécessaire, suivant
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les règles de la justice, qu'il donne son consentement pour laisser disposer d'un bien qui lui appartient légitimement, en vertu de la cession que le Roi d'Espagne lui en a faite, si ce premier expédient ne convient pas, & que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne persiste à remettre tous les Pays-Bas à la disposition de ses alliés, le second expédient que le Roi propose, pour obtenir de l'Electeur de Bavière qu'il consente à céder les provinces & places dont il est en possession, est de lui faire donner en échange le royaume de Sardaigne. Cet équivalent, peu considérable en lui-même, donnera seulement à l'Electeur un titre de royauté qu'il pourra regarder comme une espèce de dédommagement du rang qu'il perdra dans le Collège Electoral.

Malgré la distance & le peu de liaison de la Sardaigne avec l'électorat de Bavière, il n'y a nulle incompatibilité que le même Prince possède l'un & l'autre.

Souffrez, Monsieur, que je vous dise qu'il n'y en avoit point aussi à donner à l'Electeur le Royaume de Sicile, & que bien loin de regarder cette disposition comme une oc-

caſſon de jaloſie continuelle, & une ſource de querelles entre la France & l'Angleterre, il eſt à craindre que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye n'en faſſe un uſage contraire aux intérêts des deux nations.

Le bruit ſe répand déjà que ſon deſſein eſt de changer la Sicile contre le Milanès, & je vous ſupplie de vous ſouvenir que vous m'avez écrit, que l'Angleterre n'a pas moins d'intérêt que la France d'empêcher que cette île ne tombe au pouvoir de la maiſon d'Autriche.

La dernière condition que le Roi attache au conſentement que ſa Majeſté donne aux demandes de la Reine en faveur de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, eſt que ce prince ſe déſiſte de toute prétention ultérieure qu'il pourroit former ſous le nom de barrière. Sa Majeſté connoît mieux que perſonne la frontière de ſon royaume & ce qui convient à ſa ſureté. Elle croit avoir beaucoup fait en laiſſant à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, pour le bien de la paix, les places d'Exilles & de Fenestrelles. Elle ne donnera rien de plus, & comme elle a juſqu'à préſent déclaré ſincèrement ſes intentions à la Reine
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de la Grande Bretagne, il paroîtroit que ce feroit contrevenir à la bonne-foi toujours observée dans la négociation présente, que de remettre aux conférences d'Utrecht, la discussion d'un article que sa Majesté est bien résolue de refuser constamment.

Je ne crois pas, Monsieur, que ce soit perdre du tems que de vous expliquer sans aucun détour ce que le Roi pense, ce qu'il veut faire en considération de la Reine, & en même-tems les engagemens de sa Majesté envers ses alliés. Ce desir d'y satisfaire doit être loué par une Princesse aussi sensible à la vraie gloire, & aussi touchée de procurer les avantages des Princes unis avec elle.

La bonne intelligence est prête à s'affermir solidement, & sa Majesté Britannique a déjà reçu tant de marques de la confiance du Roi, que je ne puis croire qu'elle n'entre pas dans les raisons qui doivent obliger sa Majesté à satisfaire à ses engagemens.

Ainsi j'espère que les promesses que vous m'avez faites par vos lettres précédentes feront incessamment exécutées. Car il seroit fâcheux, que le retardement des ordres que la Reine devoit envoyer en Catalogne, &

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TRANSLATION
OF
FOREIGN LETTERS AND PAPERS, &c.

Note. (Page 5.)

Separate Article.

THE King promises to restore to the Duke of Savoy the domains and territories belonging to that Prince, at the beginning of the present war, and at present in possession of his Majesty, with a farther assurance, that a cession shall be made to the Duke of Savoy of such other places in Italy, comprised in the sense of the treaties between that Prince and his allies.

Pursuant to full authority from the King, we, &c.

MESNAGER.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 11.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 25, 1711, O.S.

THE subsequent letter was written at the instance of the minister of the States-General, who has insisted upon receiving the declaration therein demanded, before the passports are sent for your Plenipotentiaries. The Queen has the more readily consented to this proceeding, as she doubts not his Most Christian Majesty will instantly remove the difficulty, and that, consequently, the Congress will open on the day fixed upon.

Those, Sir, who are desirous of peace, must lend their assistance on all sides, and urge on the conclusion of the treaty, before we become subject to the events of another campaign. We shall do all on our part to fix the pretensions of the allies; and we hope, by that, to facilitate and shorten the business of the Plenipotentiaries.

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I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 18th instant, received by M. Gaultier, and I entreat you to be persuaded, that the memorial sent by him shall be used with great caution, and the secret shall be inviolably kept. I am, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 12.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 25th, 1711.

THE Lords the States-General having by their resolves of the 24th instant, N.S. concurred with her Majesty to facilitate the opening of a negociation, for a good and a general peace, I am ordered to communicate to you the resolutions of her Majesty and the States upon that subject :

First, the place judged most proper for the Congress is the city of Utrecht.—Secondly, the 12th of January next, N.S. has been fixed upon for the opening the said Congress.—Thirdly, it has been resolved that the ministers of the Queen and the States shall appear there in quality of Ministers Plenipotentiary, and that they shall not take upon them the character of Ambassadors before the day of signing the peace, in order to avoid as much as possible the embarrassment of ceremonies, and the delay they occasion.—Fourthly, the Queen and the States insist that the ministers of the Duke of Anjou and of the quondam Electors of Bavaria and Cologne shall not be admitted to the Congress, until the points which concern them be adjusted : and the Queen and the States are firmly resolved to delay sending the passports for the ministers of France until the Most Christian King has previously declared, that the absence of the aforesaid ministers shall be no impediment to the progress of the negociation.

Circular letters have been already written by her Majesty to all the allies engaged in the present war, in conformity to the three first articles above specified ; and the Queen orders me to acquaint you, that, upon receipt of his Most Christian Majesty's declaration upon the last of the four articles, the passports which are now here in blank, shall be sent to you, with the names of Marechal d'Uxelles, the Abbé Polignac, and M. Mesnager, inserted, unless the King has made an alteration in the first nomination of his Plenipotentiaries communicated to me.

As not only the ministers of her Majesty, but also many
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of those of her allies, who are to assist at the treaty of peace, are at present here, I must beg of you, Sir, to send me the necessary passports, that they may repair to Holland with the greater security. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 65.)

S I R,

Versailles, December 15th, 1711.

I RECEIVED the honour of your letter of the 25th November, O.S. and gave an account to the King of the resolutions entered into between the Crown of England and the States General, to facilitate the opening of the negotiations of peace, and his Majesty has ordered me to reply:—First, he consents to Utrecht being the place of meeting, considering it more proper than any other for holding the conferences.—Secondly, that it will not be his fault, nor that of his Plenipotentiaries, if they do not arrive there time enough to open the conferences the 12th of next month. They are ready to set out, and are only detained for want of the passports which you are to send, and are absolutely necessary for the safety of their journey.—Thirdly, the King is still of opinion, that it is proper his Ministers Plenipotentiary, and those of the powers interested in the present war, should assume no other quality during the conferences, and that they should reserve the character of Ambassadors, to be assumed on the day of signing the peace, in order, as you say, to prevent the embarrassment of ceremonies, and the delay they occasion.—Fourthly, to shorten these delays, the King agrees that the conferences do commence without waiting for the ministers of the King of Spain, who cannot arrive for a very long time, having not yet left Madrid; and his Majesty promises, that neither the opening nor the progress of the negotiation shall suffer any hindrance from their absence. He likewise consents that the Plenipotentiaries of the Catholic King, his grandson, as well as those of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, be not admitted to the conferences, until the points which respect those Princes, shall have been, as you say, settled.

This declaration being conformable to what you require, Sir, the King doubts not the passports for his Plenipotentiaries will be immediately transmitted. The King has made no change in the nomination of Plenipotentiaries; they are Marechal d'Uxelles, the Abbé Polignac, and M. Mesnager, whose names should, if you please, be inserted

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in the passports, which, I suppose, contain every necessary security for their suite, servants, equipages, effects, papers, and in general every thing belonging to them.

As I know not, Sir, precisely who are the ministers of your allies now in London, and who are to assist at the conferences for the peace, I send you the passports for those who I supposed might want them; and I beg you will return me any that may be useless. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 68.)

S I R,

Verfailles, December 15th, 1711.

I REPLY, in another letter, to that you did me the honour to write, at the request of M. Buys. Though you had not apprised me of the condescension you were obliged to preserve to his instances, I should have judged of it from the terms of the fourth article; and you have accustomed me to distinguish easily your style from that of the Dutch ministers. They might, without any apprehension, have sent off their passports; the Plenipotentiaries of Spain will be a long time on their journey, and the negociation will be far advanced before they can reach Paris, if the conferences commence on the 12th of next month. It will not be the fault of the King's Plenipotentiaries if they do not open on the day fixed. They are ready to set off immediately, upon receipt of the passports; and, I can assure you, they will neglect nothing for the speedy conclusion of the work committed to their management. I hope the success will answer the sincere intentions of the King, and those of the Queen of Great Britain; and that, under their care, Europe may long enjoy an equitable and a lasting peace. I am, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 72.)

S I R,

Whitehall, December 15th, 1711, O.S.

I CANNOT permit the messenger to depart without two lines from me, to thank you for the honour of your private letter, and the obliging compliment you made me. M. Gaultier will not fail to give you an account of new difficulties, which they endeavour to start here, in order to impede the progress of the negociation. These difficulties will be removed by the vigilance and firmness of the Queen; and as we are on the point of opening the conferences, with a resolution, on both sides, to neglect nothing for

for the speedy conclusion of the work, I will hope we shall in the end be lucky enough to arrive at an equitable and solid peace, which has been for so many years the desire of all honest men. I am, &c.

Note. (Page 120.)

The Duke of Lorain to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

MADAM,

Luneville, December 20th, 1711.

I HAVE already had the honour of imploring your Majesty's protection, upon the first advice of the renewal of the treaty of peace, for it is only upon your powerful support I found my hopes of the success of my just pretensions. Since it has pleased your Majesty to appoint the time and place of the Congress, I take the liberty to have recourse again to your goodness, and very humbly to intreat you will preserve, on this important occasion, those generous intentions you have ever shown in favour of my interest. And as I have every reason to hope that my Plenipotentiaries will be admitted to the conferences, the same as other ministers, because my wrongs were occasioned by the present war, and because the interests of the Princes engaged in it are to be adjusted in the negotiation, pursuant to the articles which your Majesty has recently communicated to your high allies; so I most humbly entreat you to give immediate orders to your ministers, to support mine, during the conferences, and to give them the assistance of your royal authority, that they may guard my interest, and bring about, under your protection, a happy result. The respectful confidence I place in the goodness of your Majesty induces me to hope, that you will add this favour to the many you have already conferred upon me, and that you will deign to be convinced of the inviolable attachment, and most profound respect, with which I shall have the honour to be, during life, your Majesty's, &c.

LEOPOLD.

Note. (Page 122.)

Memorial for their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Queen of Great Britain, concerning the estates and dependencies of the villages of Dankelsheim and Kitleshheim, in the jurisdiction of Haguenau in Alsace, which, of right, belong to Mr. Douglas, in right of his father and of his grandfather M. de Batilly.

(1.) THAT the late M. de Batilly, grandfather of M. Douglas, enjoyed, during thirty successive years, the villages and dependencies of D. and K. by virtue of cession, from Mr. R. C. Oxenstiern, General and Plenipotentiary of the Crown of Sweden, in the name of Queen Christina, according to the power she had vested in him, for the payment and satisfaction of sums of money advanced by M. de B. for the support of his regiment, in satisfaction for pay, and in reward for services performed for King Gustavus Adolphus, the said Queen's father.

(2.) That Alsace was ceded to France by a treaty of peace, charged with the execution and maintenance of what the Crown of Sweden had done and ordered, which the said Alsace was subject to, and thus Louis XIII confirmed the gift of the Crown of Sweden in favour of M. de B. by letters-patent of the 19th September, 1635, which forbid all persons, of whatever condition, to molest him in the possession of the said villages so granted, in payment for his services; and that, as a farther favour, he took him and his vassals, with their goods and families, under his special protection and safeguard, in order that he might enjoy the said villages in greater security, and might be protected from violence, and other impediments that might happen to him.

(3.) That the present King, in 1648, in parliament, confirmed M. de B. in the possession of the said villages, which appears by a protection of the 14th March, 1648, which forbids the quartering of any soldiers in the villages belonging to M. Anthony de B. Marechal de Camp in his armies, and Governor of the city and castle of Neuschâteau, and the raising contributions in the said villages, in consideration of the commendable services performed, not only for the Crown, but for his allies and confederates, meaning the crown of Sweden, of which he held the said villages.

(4.) It

(4.) It may be seen by a decision, 22d February, 1655, pronounced by his Highness Prince Henry of Lorain, then Grand Provost of Haguenau, that the late M. de B. rendered fealty and homage to his Most Christian Majesty, before the said Prince, and it directs that M. de B. should be acknowledged and respected by the subjects and inhabitants of D. and K. as Lord of the said villages.

(5.) That, to prevent disputes between the inhabitants of the said villages and M. de B. their Lord, in regard to rights, the Prince of Lorain issued an ordinance the same February, 1655, directing what each party was to observe and perform.

(6.) That the Duke de Montausier, who succeeded the Prince of Lorain, continued M. de B. in the possession of the said two villages, and in the same rights as the Prince had done before him, which is proof sufficient of the lawful possession of M. de B.

(7.) That the Duke Mazarin, being in favour, and Governor of Alsace, had reunited many villages to the domain of the Grand Bailiwick of Haguenau; among others, D. K. and Minfersheim, all of the same tenure, under pretence that they had been alienated from the Grand Bailiwick; but that Baron de Vanghen having remonstrated to the Court, that he and his predecessors had freely and peaceably enjoyed the revenues of the domain of Minfersheim, by virtue of the cession made by the Archduke Leopold to his uncle, George Theoderick de Varun, in like manner as the crown of Sweden had ceded and granted to M. de B. D. and K. the King willingly acknowledged the right of the Baron de Vanghen, by letters-patent of 19th February, 1672, by which he again confirms him in the possession and enjoyment of the domain of Minfersheim, which village is said, in the same patent, to be of the same tenure as D. and K. which clearly shows, that the said villages had been improperly reunited to the domain by the Duke Mazarin, and under a false pretence.

(8.) That M. de B. died peaceably at his own house, and never was accused of any crime, but of being a Protestant, which obliged him, in one day, to submit to the loss of 20,000 crowns, yearly income from his employments, rather than change his religion; but, for all that, he had not less right to resume possession of these villages, than Baron de Vanghen to that of Minfersheim, that being of the same tenure as his.

(9.) That M. de B. being disgusted with the court, on
VOL. II. L I account

account of the above proceeding, resolved never to return to it, not even to solicit his domains; but having a daughter married to Sir William Douglas, he gave him these two villages, with all arrears of rent, in lieu of the fourth part of the lordship of Mantoi, which, by his daughter's marriage-contract, he was obliged to give him. Thus these two villages, with their dependencies, were accepted by Sir William Douglas, in lieu of portion with his wife, as appears by an act passed at Metz, before notaries, the 16th of January, 1675.

(10.) That Mr. Douglas is the sole heir of Sir William Douglas, of his deceased mother, and of M. de Batilly, his grandfather.

If the rights of prescription be urged, it may be answered,

(1.) That prescriptive right is of no avail in cases of usurpation.

(2.) That Sir William Douglas presented a petition to the King, in 1675, explaining his rights, and the usurpation of the Duke Mazarin, which was answered ambiguously.

(3.) That King William, of happy memory, at the last peace, demanded the said villages of the Most Christian King; by my Lord Manchester, his Ambassador, to be restored to Sir William Douglas; and that, according to the answer returned, Mr. Douglas would have acquired possession of the same, had not the war broken out in the mean time.

Should it be objected, that the Duke Mazarin is in possession of these villages, by virtue of letters-patent from the King, and that such possession is good, it is answered,

(1.) That it was an usurpation of the Duke Mazarin, to obtain the King's letters-patent under false pretence, as can be proved by the suit of Baron de Vanghen, and by the patent obtained by him of the King, to replace him in possession of Minfersheim, of which he had been dispossessed, for like reasons as M. de B. had been of his villages.

(2.) In all patents there is a clause which says, "I give the right of others." Thus the King only grants by patent what belongs to him, and, consequently, that obtained by the Duke Mazarin, under a false pretence, cannot be valid, to the prejudice of the right of M. de B.

(1.) It will be observed that the two villages were reunited by the Duke Mazarin to the domaine of the Grand Bailiwick, which is the King's own property.

(2.) That the Duke Mazarin possesses these two villages only

only as Provost of Haguenau, and Governor of Alsace, and that during life, or the King's pleasure.

(3.) That the King, upon the death of the Duke Mazarin, or before, can grant his domain, or any part of it, to whomsoever he pleases.

And the rather as the said villages of D. and K. appear to have been wrongfully reunited to the Grand Bailiwick, under a false pretence of Duke Mazarin, it is to be hoped, that his Most Christian Majesty will not permit them, by his authority, to be retained any longer by the Duke, who has no right but by usurpation, to the prejudice of Mr. Douglas, to whom they of right belong, and that his Majesty will judge it proper, to give immediate orders that Mr. Douglas may recover possession of the villages of Dankelsheim and Kitlefheim, as well as of all that may legally belong to him in France.

From Count de Maffei. (Page 127.)

S I R,

London, December 24th, 1711.

I DO myself the honour of transmitting the inclosed memorial, as the ultimatum, in respect to the barrier which his Majesty and his council have thought just and reasonable, to obtain from France, for the security of his Royal Highness's territories, as the Lords delivered their sentiments upon it, at the conference granted me this morning, of which you know more than I do; I doubt not her Majesty will have the goodness to give orders accordingly to her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and positive assurances to his Royal Highness, by the answer she will honour him with.

With respect to the aggrandisement, I flatter myself that her Majesty will preserve the same sentiments and inclination to exert her influence to procure it for his Royal Highness, as her goodness has given him reason to expect; and that she will likewise order her Plenipotentiaries, to concert and endeavour, by all methods and expedients that may be proper, in the course of the negotiation, to accomplish, with greater facility, the equitable intention of her Majesty upon that head, the better to secure the peace now about to be made, and to maintain that equilibrium, which the situation of his Royal Highness's territories, when extended and indissolubly united to England, by the same interests, and by gratitude, may materially influence.

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Note

Not. (Page 127.)

Memorial of Count de Maffei, Envoy-extraordinary of his Royal Highness of Savoy to her Britannic Majesty, to Mr. St. John, for the purpose of an Instruction to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Queen, at the Congress of Utrecht, in order to obtain from France, by an ultimatum, the barrier hereafter specified, which her Majesty and her Council have agreed to be just and reasonable to obtain for the security of the States of his Royal Highness, and as one of those conditions *sine qua non*.

FOR PIEDMONT.

That the Most Christian King do give up to his Royal Highness the fortresses of Exilles, and Fonestrelles, with the vallies of Pragelas, Oulx, Sezane, Exilles, and Château Dauphin, and, in general, all from the Alps between Morianne and the valley of Barcelonnette, carrying the barrier through the defile de la Roue les Echelles, Mont Genève, the defile de l'Agnel, and other Alps, and to those on the side of Piedmont, between which the said vallies are situate, assuming the top of the said Alps, the plains and the lands upon the said Alps, so to be divided between France and his Royal Highness, to be the mountains, forts, and vallies, so be given up to, held, and possessed by his said Highness and his successors for ever, in full sovereignty, as places properly belonging to him or them.

That for the security of this barrier, the King of France shall demolish the fortifications of Briançon, without ever restoring them; and upon this condition alone will his Royal Highness depart from the demanding the cession of Briançon and Mont Dauphin.

FOR SAVOY.

That France give up Barreau demolished, with the lands between Barreau and Mont Meillan, on one side of the Isere, and upon the other side, Gonselin, with the other lands as far as La Rochelle and to the defile de Vaugeani, paying an equivalent in money for the demolition of Mont Meillan, equal to the rebuilding it, or giving up Barreau fortified.

That all territories, places, and villages, claimed by and yielded to France by the treaty of Lyons, situate beyond the Rhone on the side of Savoy, be given up to his Royal Highness, with the free use of the Rhône, equally for the
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Most Christian King and his Royal Highness, from Geneva to St. Genis d'Aoste.

The villages reserved to France on the side of Savoy, by the said treaty, the cession of which is now required, are seven: Aire, Chancy, Auully, Pont d'Aslot, Seyssel, Chanuz, and Pierre Chasuel.

FOR THE COUNTY OF NICE.

That Monaco be given up to his Royal Highness, as a recompence for the demolition of the Castle of Nice and other forts in this county; as also, for the security of this province, which is open on the side of his Royal Highness, and inclosed by this place on one side, and by Antibes on the other.

And that his Royal Highness have the free exercise of sovereignty in Menton and Rocabruna, as his ancestors formerly had, and as the equity of his Royal Highness's claims to these lands requires.

COUNT DE MAFFEL.

To Monsieur d'Hervart. (Page 132.)

SIR,

Whitehall, January 4th, 1711-12.

I HAVE been a little uneasy, I acknowledge, about the letter I wrote to you some time ago, which has caused so many reports in Holland; but I did you justice, and never supposed you had the least bad intention in showing it: so, if you please we will say no more about this cross accident.

You see the conferences are opened, and I doubt not there are many people, who will set all their ingenuity at work to dissolve them, but, provided the French will purchase a peace at a reasonable price, I hope we shall gain our point.

I consider it as unnecessary for me to desire your exertions to do away those false notions which our faction here, and their allies on your side, endeavour to disseminate. You wish for a peace, as well from a Christian as a political motive; and you are able to discern from what source springs all the opposition to the Queen's measure.

Prince Eugene has been some days upon our coast; I know not if contrary winds will suffer him to land; but I am apprehensive that the disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough will frustrate one part of his instructions.

I wish you a happy new year, and am, &c.

To his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy. (Page 149.)

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 8th, 1712.

I RECEIVED the letter your Royal Highness was pleased to write to me, 18th of October, with all the respect and gratitude due to a great Prince, who condescends to accept of services so little important as mine.

Count Maffei has not failed to inform your Royal Highness of the instructions given by her Majesty to her Plenipotentiaries; and I dare assure you, that the Queen cannot display more firmness in prosecuting the interest of Great Britain itself, than she does in promoting that of your Royal Highness. I pray God to grant your Royal Highness a long series of happy years.

I am, and shall through life remain, your Royal Highness's, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 151.)

SIR,

Versailles, January 5th, 1712.

I RECEIVED the letter you did me the honour to write the 15th last month, O.S. with the passports for the King's Plenipotentiaries. As his Majesty intends to accelerate as much as possible the opening of the conferences, and the conclusion of the peace, as a necessary consequence, he did not hesitate to accept these passports, though, in point of form, less ample than those sent by his orders.

I hope, Sir, that no accident will intervene to retard the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; and as you have sent particular orders to the Earl of Strafford upon this subject, the King's Plenipotentiaries will apply to him, in case it be necessary for him to remove any difficulty that may arise.

We learn, by letters from Holland, that each province is to name its Plenipotentiary for the peace; that Holland alone has appointed Messrs. Buys and Vanderdussen to assist at the conferences as Commissioners, and not as Plenipotentiaries. As the primary proceeding upon opening such an assembly is to communicate the credentials of the different Ministers, it would be impossible to enter into treaty with those who have no powers to treat on the part of their principals. I am convinced that the province of Holland

Holland will not lay itself open to such an inconvenience ; but still I believe you will think it expedient to mention this to the Earl of Strafford, in order that any new difficulty may be prevented at a time when it should be the endeavour of all parties to remove every obstacle to the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 153.)

S I R,

Verfailles, January 5th, 1711.

I SEE with much satisfaction, by the letter you honoured me with in your own hand writing, that you are convinced the Queen's resolution will remove all difficulties raised against a peace, by a hostile cabal with you. I acknowledge that their proceedings, their occasional apparent success, and the measures pursued in foreign countries, caused an alarm among those not perfectly acquainted with the interior of England, and who formed their judgment of the nation from such false appearances. You entirely do away my apprehensions concerning the reports spread abroad ; for I believe you will approve of the sensible interest I take in every thing that respects you and your friends, and consequently of my uneasiness while your enemies remain in place. As you know better than any person, how long it may be proper to leave with them the power to do mischief, and to avenge themselves, without any advice from me, I shall confine myself to the assurance, that the King's Plenipotentiaries go from hence well informed of her Majesty's intentions, and are so empowered as to bring the negociation to a ready conclusion. I hope then its success will be speedy and fortunate, and that the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain will, on their part, endeavour to remove all difficulties that may delay the conclusion of this great work. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 155.)

S I R,

Whitehall, January 12th (O.S.) 1711.

I REPLY to the honour of your letter of the 5th instant. The Queen's orders, which I sent to the Earl of Strafford, have had their effect ; and you will have seen that minister

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has

has taken every necessary measure to prevent any accident that can retard the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht. If the Dutch Ministers should assist at the conferences as Commissioners only, and not as Plenipotentiaries, as report runs, and as you imagine, there would perhaps be no reply to your objection; but I observe, Sir, in all my letters, as well as in that written by the States-General to the Queen, the 29th of last month, that Monsieur Buys and his Colleagues are nominated Plenipotentiaries to the Congress to be held at Utrecht. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 156.)

S I R,

Whitchall, January 12:h (O.S.) 1711.

I AM very sensible of all your civilities, and of the interest you take in what relates to us with regard to the intrigues of our faction. It is evident that the difficulties they throw in our way are great, but the Queen's resolution, seconded by the compliances of his Most Christian Majesty, will, I doubt not, in the end prevail.

Our letters of the 19th, N.S. from Utrecht, announce the arrival of your Plenipotentiaries; I hope they will not leave that city until the peace be signed.

Prince Eugene of Savoy has been here some days; his stay will not be long, and his representations will not have the effect expected at the Emperor's Court. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

Note. (Page 163.)

IN answer to the memorial of Prince Eugene of Savoy, February 7th, O.S. (18th, N.S.) I have the honour to acquaint the said Prince, by express order of the Queen, among other matter, that her Majesty could not declare what effort she may be able to make this year in Spain, until she knew what supplies her Parliament would grant for that purpose; and that she would lay before the House of Commons the proposals he had made to her from the Emperor, by which his Imperial Majesty undertakes to furnish 30,000 men of the 40,000 judged necessary to constitute the army in Catalonia, and to pay one million of the four millions of crowns which will be sufficient, according to the account his Imperial Majesty has caused to be made out, for all the expences of the war in that quarter.

Agreeable

Agreeably to that answer, the said proposals were submitted to the House; and we must expect the result in a few days. Her Majesty, however, considers herself obliged to remark, that hitherto she has not observed that the States-General have entered into any agreement for their quota of this expence, or have taken any measures to make a greater effort than they have hitherto done in Catalonia; though many months ago, the Queen declared her expectations, that the plan of the war in that quarter should be concerted with her allies, and that the States-General should agree to furnish their share in all the necessary expences. The Queen believed that his Imperial Majesty's representations would have carried sufficient weight with the States-General, especially in the present posture of affairs, to have induced them to resolve upon a thing so just, so essential for the continuance of the war. The Queen hopes that in Holland and elsewhere no excuses will in future be made for contributing to expences which there is no positive obligation by treaties, as it is notorious to all the world that her Majesty has been under no obligation whatever, except that suggested by generosity and her zeal for the common cause, which have urged her to contribute the greatest share of the immense sums that have been provided for so many years towards the support of the war.

The Queen learns with great satisfaction the happy success of the allied army in Spain, as communicated in the memorial of Prince Eugene, February 12th, O.S. (March 3d, N.S.); her Majesty entertains no doubt that the arrival in Italy of the reinforcements for the army in Spain, the march of the corps of 23,780 men, and the vigorous measures pursued by his Imperial Majesty in all his preparations for opening the campaign, will force the enemy to reflect in earnest that it is time to make peace, and consequently will contribute to promote a fortunate issue to the present negotiation.

With respect to affairs in Spain, and particularly as to the Duke of Argyle's order to the Queen's Paymaster-general, mentioned by Prince Eugene in his Memorial, February 23d, O.S. (March 5th, N.S.) it is impossible to give any precise answer until the Duke's arrival, who is coming home to give an account to her Majesty of every thing relative to the war in Spain, and who is expected every moment.

H. ST. JOHN.

Whitehall, February 29th, 1711-12.

From Baron de Bothmar. (Page 168.)

S I R,

Arlington-street, January 29th, 1711-12.

I HAVE just now heard that the treaty concluded between the Queen and the States-General of the United Provinces, for the barrier of the latter in the Spanish Low Countries, has been laid this day before the House of Commons. The Elector my master considering that the person who pretends to dispute with him the right, which has been given to him and to his most serene family in the person of the Electress his mother, to succeed to the Crown of Great Britain, in case the Queen has no issue, is supported by so considerable a foreign power as that of the King of France, could not but with the utmost gratitude observe so real a mark of the honour of her Majesty's friendship for him and his most serene family, as that which she has been pleased to give, by the care which she has taken to stipulate by the aforesaid treaty, that the States-General should be guarantees of the Protestant succession, more effectually to secure this right against all those who would oppose it.

As I know you, Sir, to be both zealous for this right, and well affected to his Electoral Highness, I take the liberty, as well for this reason as for that of your being a Minister, to apply myself to you, and to desire you to manage the matter so that the guaranty stipulated by the barrier treaty, in favour of the Protestant succession, may not receive any injury from its being communicated to the Parliament.

I shall have the honour to speak also by word of mouth to you about it, when your other business will permit you to allow me a moment for it. I am, &c.

THE BARON DE BOTHMAR.

Note. (Page 168.)

*Answer from his Electoral Highness of Brunswick-Lunen-
burg to Earl Rivers.*

Gohrde, November 7th, 1711.

HIS Electoral Highness receives, with the most grateful acknowledgments, the communication, which her Majesty's goodness has made to him, of all that has passed concerning the important business of a general peace. He is not less

sensible of the favour in being informed of the Earl of Strafford's instructions, which shall be attended to as desired.

His Electoral Highness is also under a new obligation to her Majesty for making these communications by a person of such rank and merit as Earl Rivers, who has always been the particular friend of his House. His Electoral Highness has with extreme satisfaction remarked, in the instruction to the Earl of Strafford, that her Majesty's intention is, to do nothing towards a general peace, but in concert with the States-General; her Majesty insisting in those instructions, *upon the absolute necessity there is to maintain a good understanding between the two nations, upon which must, in a great measure, depend their mutual safety, and the balance of Europe.*

The present war has shown what the two nations can do, when closely united; but the efforts of Britain in this war have been so grand, and her share so extensive and noble, in a word, so worthy of the nation, and of the great Queen who sways the sceptre, that there can be no reason to doubt, that, at the future treaty for peace, all the allies will unanimously concur to obtain for Great Britain the conditions and advantages she may expect from France; and it seems this method would be more certain to attain this end, than the endeavour to gain it by a separate negotiation, which might give the other allies some ground for distrust.

It is certain that the general interest of the allies requires they should be as united at the future treaty of peace, as they were during the war, as the only means to guard against those intrigues which France has so usefully practised in such kind of assemblies, to divide the allies, and that all the security of the latter depends upon their guaranty to each other of what may be regulated by the said treaty.

As to the place of assembly, it is matter of astonishment in the victorious state of the allies, that France should pretend to dictate, and should in this respect begin to assume a masterly tone. His Electoral Highness doubts not the Queen will disapprove of such haughty proceeding, and will acknowledge it is proper to fix with the allies the place of meeting.

With regard to the information received, that the Imperial Court was desirous to open a secret negotiation with France, to the prejudice of the interest of Great Britain,

tain, his Electoral Highness takes the liberty to assure the Queen, that that Court has no such intention, its present circumstances and the restitutions required from France being such, that it is not possible for that Court to withdraw itself from the rest of the allies, and still less so from the Queen than any other of them; it may, on the contrary, be rather expected, that the new Emperor will make greater exertions against the enemy, than have been hitherto made.

My Lord Rivers is requested, humbly to thank her Majesty for the care her goodness has taken of the interest of the Electoral House, in the first article of the preliminaries proposed by France, as also, for her willingness to procure for his Electoral Highness, from that Crown, the acknowledgment of his electorate, upon which his Highness wishes that whenever this subject is treated, her Majesty's ministers may take care to omit the word *ninth*, as derogating from his rank, his Electorate being no longer the ninth; and therefore the Queen is desired to stipulate that *France do acknowledge the electorate of his Electoral Highness of Brunswick, with all dignities, offices, and prerogatives thereunto annexed.*

In regard to what has passed in Scotland concerning the medal of the Pretender, his Electoral Highness submits to the Queen's prudence, what should be done to prevent the consequences of so public a transaction.

His Electoral Highness is much obliged to the Queen, for the steps she has taken with the King of Denmark, to engage him to alter his design of sending troops into the country of Bremen, and herein he begs her Majesty to continue her care whenever circumstances may require it. His Electoral Highness is very sensible of the Queen's goodness in permitting the return of some of his regiments during the winter; he will withdraw as few as possible, to avoid an abuse of her Majesty's goodness: he will send them back as early as he can, knowing of what importance it is, that the army should be early in readiness to begin the campaign. His Electoral Highness has ordered Baron de Bothmar to return directly to the Queen's Court; he hopes that her Majesty and her Ministers will give him a favourable reception, the intent of his journey and instructions being only to mark still more visibly his Electoral Highness's veneration of her Majesty's person, and his gratitude for her goodness.

To Baron de Botmar. (Page 172.)

S I R,

Whitehall, February 2nd, 1711-12.

AS the letter which you did me the honour to write me of the 29th of the last month, turns upon so important a subject as the succession of the most serene House of Hanover, I thought it my duty to communicate it to the Queen, and it is by her order that I send you the following answer:—It is so indisputable a right of the House of Commons to enquire into every thing which has been, or may become prejudicial to the interest of the nation, that the sovereigns themselves never take upon them to hinder their proceedings of that kind; for which reason you will give me leave to say, that it is proper that you should not lightly meddle in so nice an affair, and especially since you cannot have particular and peremptory orders from his Electoral Highness your master. You do me a great deal of justice in looking upon me as a man well affected to his Electoral Highness, and zealous for his right; but you do me too much honour in thinking me able to direct matters in the House of Commons one way or other; the only means which I could make use of for this purpose, would be to lay before them the letter, which you was pleased to write me, and that I will do if you desire it. I must add, that the good inclinations of the Queen, of the Parliament, and of the people in general, are the best guaranty for securing the Protestant succession; and after all the proofs which have been given by her Majesty and by both Houses, of their sincere intentions to maintain the right of the most serene family, it seems a little strange that the examination of the barrier treaty, which so nearly concerns one of the most considerable branches of our trade, should occasion any jealousy. I am, &c.

To Monsieur de Cambiague. (Page 193.)

S I R,

Whitehall, February 29th, 1711-12.

I BEG you to believe that Mr. St. John, and the Secretary of State of that name, are the same person; you have seen, by my conduct four years back, that great changes do not affect me much; therefore do not suppose they are capable of making me alter my sentiments with respect to my friends.

I have

I have heard much good of Monsieur Forrester, but your recommendation is sufficient to insure my endeavours to be of service to him. My brother, happily for him, was with a friend of mine at Amsterdam, when he was taken ill of the small-pox: he is at present at Utrecht, where, provided he makes a good use of the advantageous situation he is in, he may advance in the knowledge of public affairs, and in time be of service to his country. The peace, among other advantages it brings along with it, will certainly raise the price of our funds. I am very glad to find you are engaged in the South-Sea Company, and make no manner of doubt that you will gain a considerable profit upon your subscriptions. Poor Monsieur Calandrini is still at Paris, and, according to all accounts, eliciting the payment of what is due to him: I have made, and shall continue to make, application for him to the French Ministers. I flatter myself that some of them may be induced to serve him.

I am, &c.

To Monsieur Mesnager. (Page 197.)

S I R,

Whitehall, March 4th. O.S. 1711-12.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 15th instant, and Monsieur Gaultier will not have omitted informing you of my giving him that addressed to him. I feel myself much honoured by the friendship you express towards me; I beg you to preserve it for me, and to believe that, on my part, I will, upon all occasions, endeavour to show you that no one can be more perfectly than I am, &c.

P.S. The passport demanded for you by Monsieur Gaultier, was immediately dispatched.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 202.)

Marli, January 31st. 1712.

I SEE, Sir, that confidence is not so entirely established as we could wish, between the Plenipotentiaries of the King and those of the Queen, at Utrecht. As we have all the same object in view, the speedy arrival of peace, I conceive you will think it proper to send more positive instructions to the Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Strafford, upon a subject in which they should concert their measures with the King's Plenipotentiaries. It is very certain that his

his Majesty is every way disposed to contribute, on his part, to the speedy conclusion of the treaty; and when England shall, on her part, concur, all opposition, from the enemies of peace, to the re-establishment of the general tranquillity will be vain. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 203.)

Verfailles, February 8th, 1712.

NOTHING could give me greater pleasure, Sir, than to find, by the letter you have done me the honour to write to me, the vanity of all the schemes concerted to prevent the peace. I am persuaded that the return of Prince Eugene to Holland will completely undeceive those, who still hoped that his presence and reputation would shake the Queen's wise resolves; and we ought, I think, to expect from them the happiest result, since the King will likewise, on his part, contribute every thing in his power for the completion of a work so necessary for the general welfare of Europe.

I hope, Sir, the accomplishment of it will give me frequent opportunities of assuring you, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 204.)

Verfailles, March 10th, 1712.

SINCE the Dauphin's death, the Prince his eldest son is just dead, and the only one who remains, at this day, Dauphin, is only two years old. Here, Sir, is a fresh cause of alarm, and a pretext for those who oppose the peace, to publish their fears of the union of the two crowns of France and Spain in the same Prince, because the Catholic King has only an infant between him and the succession. Nevertheless, this union would be as detrimental to France and Spain, as it would be dangerous to the rest of Europe; on that account, the King remains unshaken in his resolve to pursue all necessary measures to prevent it, and his Majesty has ordered me to signify this to you, as an assurance for the Queen of Great Britain.

I hope, Sir, that the misfortunes which lately happened in France, will not impede the blessing of peace, and that you will have the honour to bring to perfection a work, in the conduct of which you have had so great a share. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 205.)

Whitehall, March 4th, O.S. 1711-12.

I SHOULD be ashamed of having deferred so long an answer to the honour of your letters, did I not imagine I could alledge a good excuse, and which will meet your approbation. In a word, it was my desire to write to you with a certainty; and on that account, it became necessary to wait until the Emperor's Ministers, and those of the Republic of Holland, had more openly discovered their game; until the necessary dispositions were completed here, and finally, until the Queen had resolved upon the only method that can lead us speedily to a good and lasting peace. I have now the satisfaction to inform you, Sir, that this resolution is taken, and that Mr. Harley sets off this evening, or to-morrow, with her Majesty's last instructions to her Plenipotentiaries. You will be pleased to approve my referring you to Monsieur Gaultier for a more detailed explanation of the subject of that gentleman's commission; and the Queen hopes his Most Christian Majesty will co-operate with her, to baffle the arts of those who desire the continuance of the war.

I intended to write to you yesterday, when I received your last of the 10th instant, N.S. The Queen is greatly affected at the misfortunes lately suffered by France; and, far from wishing that these visitations of Heaven should impede the progress of our great work, her Majesty will redouble her efforts, and proceed in such a manner, that it will depend upon his Most Christian Majesty to conclude the peace in fewer weeks than his Plenipotentiaries have already passed at Utrecht. The Queen orders me, Sir, to notify to you, that she does not doubt the King's firm resolution to employ every necessary means to prevent the union of the two crowns upon the head of the same Prince: to do away every pretext of those who oppose the peace, and to calm the minds of those who favour it, her Majesty is of opinion, that, without loss of time, we should agree upon this article, and Monsieur Gaultier will communicate to you our thoughts upon the subject.

I cannot conclude my letter, without presenting to you my testimony as to the meritorious conduct of the bearer of it. He has served the King his master, well, and at the same time, has acquired the esteem of all those who have had to do with him. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN,

Memorial sent by Monsieur Gaultier. (Page 207.)

March 4th, 1711-12.

FROM the commencement of the correspondence between Great Britain and France, on the subject of peace, it has been an established maxim, that we must not, if it can be avoided, expose ourselves to the events of the campaign; the Queen continues of this opinion, and has taken all necessary precautions on her part, to bring the negotiation at Utrecht to a happy conclusion. From what has lately occurred here, one may have remarked the favourable disposition of the House of Commons, which, according to the constitution of this government, is principally to be looked up to in concerns of peace and war; it will not be difficult to gain the same inclination in the other House. After which, the concurrence of the Queen and the whole British nation becomes a certainty, provided the plan for a general peace contain that reasonable satisfaction and real security for all the allies which they have a right to expect. Mr. Harley sets off to-morrow for Utrecht; he is amply instructed in her Majesty's intentions upon all the essential points that may come to be discussed in the negotiation, and he carries their last orders to the Plenipotentiaries. These ministers are empowered to enter into a strict confidence with those of his Most Christian Majesty, and to endeavour to form with them a plan for the re-establishment of the repose of Europe. The Queen hopes this proof of her sincere desire to do every thing in her power to bring about this great work, will experience a due return, by sending instructions to the Plenipotentiaries of France to avoid all delays, and to grant at first those points, which the allies may with justice demand, and for which the Queen must in honour declare herself. The treaty of commerce may serve as a pretence to cover this secret negotiation; and the plan thus formed by the Queen's and the King's Plenipotentiaries may, by the latter, be presented, at the general Congress, to the Allies, as the ultimatum which they are directed to offer. The Queen has been sensibly affected by the misfortunes lately happened to France; she does not doubt that the death of those Princes may be used as an argument by those who desire the continuance of the war; but she believes the surest means of rendering their scheme fruitless, will be to agree, without loss of time, upon the necessary

VOL. II.

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measures to prevent the union of the two crowns. For this purpose the Queen suggests a proposal, that the Prince, now in the possession of the Crown of Spain, should, for himself and his issue, execute a formal renunciation of that of France, and that the line of succession to both should be declared and fixed in the treaty of peace; it were also to be wished, that the Cortes, or States of Spain, should one way or other concur with this act.

Such are our first ideas on this subject; if, in the sequel, any expedient more substantial and effectual can be suggested, the Queen is assured that his Most Christian Majesty will consent to it, because he looks upon this union as prejudicial to France and Spain, as it is dangerous for the rest of Europe.

To the Marquis d'Aligre. (Page 209.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 4th, O.S. 1711-12.

I RECEIVED your letter by Monsieur Molo; during your stay in this country, I conceived for you those sentiments of esteem, which your merit exacts from all who have the honour of your acquaintance. I then made you a promise, that I would endeavour, upon all occasions, to be of service to you, and I now keep my word. The Queen consents to your exchange, and the Messenger, who sets off next Friday, will carry to Utrecht the order for your liberation. Your exchange had formerly been agreed upon with the Duke of Marlborough, but the Queen refused her assent. I wish, with you, for the speedy return of the peace of Europe, and we have reason to hope that the negotiation, for some time entered upon, will have a fortunate issue. I am, &c.

To Monsieur Marschalch de Bieberstein. (Page 216.)

MY DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, March 22d, N.S. 1711-12.

I HAVE only a few moments of time to beg you will forward the inclosed to the King your master; it is my very humble reply to the honour he did me, when you arrived in Britain. By the messenger of next week, I shall write you a letter instead of a note.

I am, &c.

To the King of Prussia. (Page 217.)

S I R,

Whitehall, March 20th, O.S. 1711-12.

I RECEIVED the honour which your Majesty condescended to do me by your letter of November 19th, which Monsieur Marschalch de Bieberstein delivered to me, with all possible respect and submission.

All the labours of my life could not merit so great a favour as that your Majesty has done me, by declaring that you are satisfied with my conduct hitherto; the best manner to show my acknowledgment of your royal goodness, will be to continue my prayers for the increase of your happiness and renown, and to search for new opportunities to make more known to you, that very respectful attachment with which I shall be, as long as life lasts,

Your Majesty's, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 219.)

S I R,

Versailles, March 20th, 1712.

THE King's Plenipotentiaries receive new orders from his Majesty, to agree with the Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, upon the conditions he can grant to the demands of Great Britain. As his Majesty cannot suppose your Plenipotentiaries have orders to exact such terms, as would prove the ruin of the trade of his subjects, and of the navigation of his kingdom, so is he persuaded that these new concessions, both for Great Britain, and for those powers whose interests she espouses, will promote the success of the negociation. But in the mean time, Sir, the King expects your Plenipotentiaries will show less eagerness in the support of the demands of the House of Austria, of the States-General, and of many Princes of the Empire, who only complain because they are urged so to do by the enemies to the peace. The most effectual way to promote it, is for the Queen of Great Britain also to send new directions to her Ministers, at Utrecht, to act in future more in concert with the King's Plenipotentiaries.

Suffer me again to entreat your best exertions for so great a blessing, and do me the justice to believe that I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

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From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 221.)

S I R,

Verfailles, March 28th, 1712.

HOWEVER great the pleasure I have in receiving the honour of your letters, I fhall be no longer uneasy at their delay, finding by your laft, that the period of your filence is employed fo ufefully towards the fuccefs of that important bufinefs, which I hope you will conduct to a fortunate conclufion. Monfieur Gaultier has given me an account of all the meafures you have taken to promote it. He goes to Utrecht, where I judge his prefence neceffary to ftrengthen the union and confidence between the King's and the Britifh Plenipotentiaries. I hope the laft orders, given by her Majefty to her Minifters, will eftablifh this good underftanding upon folid grounds, and that you will finifh what remains for the glory of the Queen your miftrefs.

I reply, by a memorial, to that delivered to me by Monfieur Gaultier, as from you. It certainly would be defirable to adopt the expedient you propofe, to prevent for ever the grand inconvenience of the union of the French and Spanifh Crowns; but, upon fuch occafions, we muft not build upon the fand, and vainly ufe a number of precautions, to confirm an act which, of itfelf, is invalid. Wifhing to avoid one inconvenience, we fhould run into others much more dangerous. I entreat you, then, to examine well this important bufinefs, and to bear in mind what have the honour to remark to you, that the union of the two monarchies would be a greater miffortune to France than to England, and the other ftates of Europe.

As you appear fatisfied with the conduct of Monfieur Gaultier, I dare fay it will pleafe you to hear, that the King has prefented him to an Abbey. I am, &c.

DE TORCY,

Note. (Page 222.)

Reply to the Memorial delivered by Monfieur Gaultier.

March 23d, 1712.

THE King defires as fincerely as the Queen of Great of Britain, to prevent the events of the campaign, and to agree, before it opens, upon terms of peace.

His Majefty has remarked the wife and prudent line of conduct, obferved during the Seflion of Parliament, to
make

make known to the House of Commons, how much the nation was deceived by her allies, that they were the only gainers by the war, of which England bore the principal share of expence, and from which no real benefit could be expected, but in making a peace upon terms honourable and advantageous to her. As the other House has been hurried on by a turbulent faction, and as private interest is exerted against the present Ministry, the King is assured that those who now, with so much ability, manage the affairs of the Queen of Great Britain, will know well how to make this party submit, and oblige them to conform to the true interest of the nation, whenever the Plenipotentiaries of France and England, at Utrecht, shall have agreed upon a just and reasonable plan of peace.

To forward this, his Majesty has directed his Plenipotentiaries to grant farther compliances, of which they will inform Mr. Harley; he learns, with pleasure, that the Queen of Great Britain has fully instructed him in her intentions, and has given him her last orders, not doubting that Princess's restraining within the bounds of justice and reason, the vague terms, *reasonable satisfaction and real security*, which her allies extend, not only to the most extravagant demands, which they have actually made, but also to those which they have not yet thought of, and which they reserve, with the apparent intention of protracting the negociation. The principal order given by the King to his Plenipotentiaries, upon their departure for Utrecht, was to create an implicit confidence between them and the Ministers of the Queen of Great Britain; the same orders have been often repeated, and lately again since the arrival of Monsieur Gaultier. Those of Great Britain having the like orders, and his Majesty depending much upon the justice and the wisdom of the Queen, the plan, necessary for the peace of Europe, will be soon formed. The Plenipotentiaries of France will certainly shorten all delays. The King is also assured that the Queen of Great Britain has given positive orders to her Plenipotentiaries, to remove all the unjust demands of her allies, which can only be productive of embarrassment. The plan of the treaty of commerce has been transmitted from Utrecht, and the King has ordered it to be examined; it is very proper that it should serve as a pretence for a secret negociation, nevertheless, his Majesty will omit nothing to favour the commerce of Britain as far as lies in his power, and which may

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not be absolutely contrary to the interest of his Majesty, and to the trade of his subjects. The King also believes, that nothing can be more conformable to the Queen's intentions, and to her assurances to him, than a wish to revive the good understanding between the two nations.

The last article of the memorial certainly requires minute discussion and mature examination; this subject is so important that we must not stop at our first ideas of the matter: the more specious these are, the greater is the danger of being deceived, by the apparent facility of carrying them into execution. France will never consent to become a province of Spain; Spain says the same with respect to France; the question then is, What well-founded means can be used to prevent the union of the two monarchies? But we should absolutely go from the point we aim at, and fall into infinite dangers, worse, if possible, than that we anxiously desire to avoid, were we to contravene the fundamental laws of this kingdom. According to these laws, the Prince next the crown is the necessary heir to it; it is a patrimony which he receives neither from the King his predecessor, nor from the people, but by virtue of the law; so that upon the demise of a King, another immediately succeeds him, without awaiting the consent of any one. He succeeds not as heir, but as the Monarch of the kingdom, the lordship of which belongs to him, not from election, but from right of birth alone; he is indebted for his crown neither to the will of his predecessor, nor to any act or decree, nor, in a word, to the generosity of any one, but to the law; this law we consider as the work of him who hath founded all monarchies, and we in France are persuaded that God alone can abolish it.

No renunciation can then destroy it, and if the King of Spain gave in his for the sake of the peace, and in obedience to his grandfather, we should deceive ourselves, if we received it as a sufficient expedient to prevent the evil we propose to avoid. It would, on the contrary, be the source of the greatest evils, it would open the door for civil wars in the kingdom, the flame of which would again spread itself through Europe. We must then look out for other expedients, to prevent for ever an union equally dangerous to France, to Spain, and to all Europe. The late King of Spain, Charles II, had wisely foreseen the inconvenience of the re-union of the two monarchies, he also provided against it by his will; for at the same time that he calls

Philip V, then Duke of Anjou, to the succession of his kingdoms, he declares, that if this Prince, upon inheriting the crown of France, should prefer it to that of Spain, the succession to the latter should pass to the Duke of Berry; and in case the Duke of Berry should succeed to the crown of France, the Archduke, the Emperor's second son, should be called to the succession to the Spanish crown; the eldest son of the Emperor being excluded on purpose to prevent the union of the Spanish and Imperial crowns. Since Philip V began to reign, he has published and registered in all the Councils of Spain, that the descendants of Queen Anne of Austria should succeed to the crown of Spain, in default of the issue of the late Queen Maria Teresa; and also that the Duke of Orleans should succeed in default of the Duke of Berry. This disposition, conformable to the laws of France and Spain, may be confirmed by the treaty of peace, and receive also, if necessary, the authority of the Cortes or States of the kingdom of Spain; it would secure the perpetual separation of the two monarchies, it would avoid the inconvenience of a renunciation which can never be valid, being made contrary to the laws.

As the renunciation in the memorial transmitted by Monsieur Gaultier, was proposed only as a first idea, so this new proposition must also be considered in the same light, and serious reflection must suggest the means of avoiding a re-union equally dangerous to all Europe.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 227.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 23rd, O.S. 1711-12.

THE day before yesterday I answered your letter of the 20th inst. N.S. when a messenger brought me that of the 28th, with the memorial of the same date. The Queen is of opinion that Monsieur Gaultier will have satisfied you with regard to the points contained in the first, and her Majesty has ordered me, without loss of time, to communicate to you her sentiments in regard to the article of the union of the two monarchies, upon which your last dispatch principally turns. The compliances which have been granted from hence for the conclusion of a general peace, have been greater than could have been expected from the Queen, or than any other power could have contributed.

The primary motive of her Majesty for these advances,

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was a firm confidence founded on assurances so often repeated by his Most Christian Majesty, that he would agree to every measure necessary for the perpetual prevention of this union, so full of danger to all Europe.

The expedient which Monsieur Gaultier was instructed to propose, is the only one, in the Queen's opinion, capable of affording the smallest hope of preventing this inconvenience; and her Majesty observes that the proposition, contained in your memorial, only confirms, and makes the Queen and her allies parties to, a plan which is at present, more than ever, the object of their fears. It is not necessary for me to enter into objections that may be urged, you are, Sir, too well informed not to see them in their full extent and validity. The Queen has too much dependance on your master's equity, and on the sincere desire he has shown for peace, ever to imagine he will require her to be contented with a security so invalid as that proposed in the memorial, or that she will ever suffer that predicament to occur, in which he, who is in possession of the Crown of Spain, shall have a right to succeed to that of France. Who then could assure us that this Prince would not exert his power to preserve the one, and to acquire the other, rather than show an example of moderation which has never yet occurred?

We are willing to believe that you in France are convinced that God alone can abolish that law upon which the rights of your succession are founded; but you will permit us, in Great Britain, to be also convinced, that a Prince can go from his right by a voluntary cession of it, and that he, in favour of whom this renunciation is made, may be justly supported in his pretensions by the powers who become guaranties to the treaty.

In a word, Sir, the Queen orders me to signify to you, that this article is of such vast consequence, as well to her as to the rest of Europe, as well to the present age as to posterity, that she will never agree to continue the negotiations for peace, unless the expedient proposed by her be accepted, or some other equally substantial be adopted.

To-morrow, I dispatch a messenger to the Plenipotentiaries, with the Queen's orders upon this subject, and I must tell you that they cannot accept of any plan for a general peace, however reasonable it may be in all other respects, unless they be satisfied with the means to prevent this union. We should indeed build upon the sand, and vainly

vainly practise precaution, were we to make peace, and not provide against a danger so great and so imminent as this. We observe, with much satisfaction, your desire that the new proposition should only be considered as a first idea, let both sides do their utmost to make our second ideas approximate nearer, and not leave imperfect and unfinished, a work which has been forwarded in spite of a warm and general opposition. I rejoice that it has pleased the King to reward the services of Monsieur Gaultier, by presenting him to an Abbey—He will be useful at Utrecht; and will there certainly find the Queen's Ministers disposed to accelerate the negotiation. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 231.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 24th, O.S. 1711-12.

I HAVE thought proper to stop the messenger, whom I had resolved to dispatch yesterday, to wait for the letter which the Lord Treasurer does himself the honour to write to you. In the mean time, our letters of the 30th, N.S. arrived from Utrecht, from them I learn there is some little difference between your Plenipotentiaries and ours in explaining that article, which promises the advantage of 15 *per cent.* upon all merchandize of the growth and manufacture of Great Britain. I hope my dispatches to-morrow will do away this difficulty. Provided we can agree upon the method to prevent the union of the two monarchies, we may hope that the other points may be regulated to our mutual satisfaction. Those, whether here or elsewhere, who are for the continuance of the war, and who opposed the opening of the conferences, will have a fine subject for their triumph, in case the expedient to effect this is not proportioned to the danger to which Europe is exposed. Mr. Prior has shown me the letter he received from you; be assured, Sir, that the Queen has no intention of entering into a contest for the concerns of Cardinal de Bouillon. Her Majesty wishes to accommodate the differences that now exist, and not to create new ones. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To Count de Maffei. (Page 232.)

Whitehall, March 26th, O.S. 1711-12:

YOU must have perceived, Sir, by the conduct of the Queen's Plenipotentiaries, that these gentlemen have been instructed to promote the interest of his Royal Highness, as much as possible in the present conjuncture.

On my part, be assured that nothing will be neglected to obtain the necessary orders from the Queen, and, in the best manner I am able, to enforce them when I send them to our Ministers at Utrecht.

You know enough of Britain, of the constitution of our government and of the present state of parties, to judge of the difficulty and danger, which those in power at this time of day, must undergo. This will give you a just idea of the turns they must make, and the measures they must observe, at nearly every step they move. In the mean time, the Emperor and the States-General, far from being obliged to us for our exertions, hitherto run the hazard of a general overthrow, rather than consent, with a good grace, to make peace, even after it is become an undoubted fact, by the proceedings of our House of Commons, that the war can no longer be kept up on the former foot. In such circumstances, I see but one expedient that can extricate us, and prevent the continuance of a war, which in future must be feeble and declining, and that is the same we have often discoursed upon, that the Queen, his Royal Highness, and the other powers, desirous of a reasonable peace, should unite firmly together, should concert and assist each other in forwarding their particular interests; and in case France will give them satisfaction upon these heads, and offer advantageous proposals to the other allies, why not declare for a plan that will re-establish the peace of Europe? You certainly have great reason to insist upon the 16th article of your treaty, and I doubt not our Ministers will make use of your arguments both to the French and the Dutch, to enforce the justice, nay, the necessity of obtaining for his Royal Highness, a proper indemnification for the rights he may lose.

I write to-day to the Lords Privy-Seal and Strafford, upon this subject, and I know that in exciting them to espouse your interest, I make my Court to the Queen my mistress.

I am, &c.

Pray present my compliments to Monsieur du Bourg.

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To Monsieur Marschalch. (Page 235.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 26th, O.S. 1711-12.

I LEARN, with much pleasure, by your letter of the 19-30th inst. your arrival in Holland, and your expectation to reach Utrecht the day following. Your good offices will be of great service in the present crisis; those who, for the sake of their private advantage, wish the prolongation of the war, do not despond; on the other hand, the French may become inflexible, and endeavour to take advantage of the want of union among the allies. Those, my dear Sir, who mean well, must oppose both one and the other.

You may perhaps recollect what I had the honour to tell you as the Queen's sentiments in regard to the union of the two monarchies. I am convinced that the King your master, will look upon this article as the essential point of the whole negotiation, and will be of opinion that we must never allow the possible occurrence of that case, when the Prince, who sits upon the Throne of Spain, is called, by right of succession, to that of France. This being granted, the necessary consequence resulting from it, is that we must, in this future treaty, settle the succession of the Crown of France, to the exclusion of King Philip, and require from him a renunciation in favour of the Duke of Berry, &c.

The French will certainly answer, that if we accepted such a renunciation, we should deceive ourselves, because being contrary to that divine law, upon which the succession of their crown is founded, it would be invalid; perhaps they may propose a confirmation of the will of Charles II, by which Philip, in case of the King's and the Dauphin's death, shall have his choice of the two crowns most convenient to him, and if he chooses to reign in France, the Duke of Berry shall succeed to the Spanish monarchy. But an expedient of this nature would be very unsubstantial and disgraceful to the allies; it would confirm a Will which has been, and is now more than ever, the object of their just apprehension. If Philip, as they say, cannot renounce his right of succession to the Crown of France, how then can he renounce the Crown when it falls to his lot, and if he cannot renounce the Crown, how

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can he have that choice which the will supposes? Let us be firm upon this point; every man can make a voluntary cession of his right, and those who are guaranties of an agreement, may, with justice, support the pretensions of him, in favour of whom such voluntary resignation has been made; according to the first plan, the interest of the House of Bourbon, will agree with the general interest of Europe; according to the other, our whole security is the life of a boy three years old.

I write openly to you, and perhaps with warmth, upon this article, but you will excuse me when you consider that unless we prevent this union, we, by making peace, sow the seeds of new wars, and lay the foundation of a power that must be dangerous to all Europe. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 243.)

SIR,

Marli, April 8th, 1712.

BY the return of the messenger from London, I received the honour of your letters of 23d and 24th March, O.S. and I observed with much pleasure, your opinion that the conditions of the treaty would be soon adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, provided we could agree upon the means to prevent the re-union of the two monarchies of France and Spain.

I believe, Sir, it is not impossible to find an expedient, to which it may be the interest of all Europe to agree, and as you do not confine yourself exclusively to that proposed by Monsieur Gaultier, as from you, I hope the second ideas upon the subject will be more fortunate than the first; if they do not entirely meet your approbation, have the goodness to communicate what you think should be inserted, and what omitted; in a word, Sir, let it be our unremitting business to perfect a work so highly necessary as that of the peace.

As the principal obstacle to its conclusion rests in the difficulty of finding security sufficient to prevent the dangerous union of the monarchies of France and Spain, the King proposes to agree, in the treaty of peace, of which all the powers of Europe will be the guaranties, that if ever the King of Spain, Philip V, or the Prince his son, or any one of their children, who shall succeed to the kingdom

dom of Spain, or the next and presumptive heir, or the successor to the Crown of France, shall prefer that Crown to that of Spain, in such case the Crown of Spain shall belong in full right to the Prince who shall be named in the same treaty to possess it; that not only King Philip shall sign and ratify this condition of the treaty, but also all the powers of Europe shall unite with France in support of it, so that should the Prince of the House of France, who shall reign in Spain, show an inclination to assert his right to the Crown of France, in the case above cited, he may be forced to renounce his right, and that of his descendants, to Spain, to depart thence with all his children, Princes and Princesses, and retire to France. That if he prefers the Crown of Spain to that of France, or to the dignity of heir apparent and immediate successor to the Crown of France, he shall be obliged to renounce his right and that of his children to the Crown of France, in favour of the branch next in succession to his own, and which shall have remained in France; so that when this case happens, the Catholic King, or he who may reign in his stead, shall have nothing but the choice in right of primogeniture; but he shall not possess the two monarchies together, or inherit that of France, and leave that of Spain to one of his children.

Should you enquire, Sir, what precaution can be used to assure a renunciation which I have represented to you as contrary to the order of succession established in France? I will reply, in the first place, there is no ground to suppose the King of Spain will make choice of that Crown, in preference to that of his ancestors, and, for many reasons, easy to comprehend, but too numerous to be detailed. Secondly, should he be so ill advised as to make such a choice, the most efficacious precaution would be that which you insinuate in your letters; that is, the solemn engagement, which all the powers of Europe would enter into by the treaty of peace, to maintain an arrangement concerted with a view to preserve the common liberty and tranquillity.

As the clause in the will of the late King of Spain, Charles II, which raises the Duke of Berry to that Crown, appears an obstacle to the peace, rather than an expedient capable of preventing the union of the two monarchies, an agreement might be entered into with the King of Portugal, to transfer to him the Crown of Spain, as soon as the King of Spain should succeed to that of France; and should have

have made that his choice, in preference to the monarchy of Spain. The marriage of the King of Portugal with a Princess of the House of Austria, may serve as a colour for the arrangement in favour of that Prince; and should it not prove expedient to name him for the Crown of Spain, we might, upon the same ground, select that Prince who should espouse one of the Archduchesses, daughters of the Emperor Joseph.

Lastly, the Duke of Savoy, having been called by the will of the late King of Spain, in default of the House of Austria, he might also be named. But, as a King of Spain, in possession of Piedmont and Savoy, would be a dangerous neighbour to France, the King would then find himself necessitated to demand, as a barrier, not only the restitution of Exilles and Fenestrelles, but also the cession of Savoy and the County of Nice.

The more substantially to ensure the repose of Europe, it might be a condition in the treaty of peace, that the means employed to prevent the union of the two monarchies, should be received and confirmed by the Cortes or States of Spain.

My wishes are, Sir, that this plan may be agreeable to the views and sentiments of the Queen of Great Britain; and I cannot resist the expectation that it will prove so, because the suggestion of making all the powers, who sign the treaty, guaranties to the renunciations, came from you; and certainly, no better security to the validity of these acts could be obtained, than to make it a stipulation in a solemn treaty, to see which duly executed, the whole of Europe would feel interested.

The King orders me to communicate the purport of this letter to the Plenipotentiaries; and I hope, Sir, that the good understanding between his Majesty and the Queen of Great Britain will increase daily; so that those who are hostile to a peace, will have no cause to triumph.—You will have the pleasure of silencing them, and I desire not less, that of proving how perfectly I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 249.)

SIR,

Whitehall, April 6th, O.S. 1712.

I REPLY to the honour of your letter of the 8th inst. N.S. which I received by the same messenger who brought me the one preceding.

Be assured, Sir, we shall continue our unremitted exertions in the work of peace, the terms of which will be soon regulated to general satisfaction, could we but agree upon the means to prevent the reunion of the monarchies of France and Spain. You see, Sir, I have not altered my sentiments.

Each of our allies has his own views; they are, perhaps, not all confined to reasonable bounds; there are also many that clash with each other; but, upon these points, we must not inspect too closely, and mutual concessions will reduce all these differences to a just and equitable medium. But the article respecting the union of the two monarchies is, in its nature and importance, such, that the slightest false step in our proceedings must be fatal, and all the advantages we can possibly stipulate for, would be too dearly bought, were we to consent to an unsubstantial expedient to do away so real a danger.

I allow, Sir, that the second ideas are more favourable than the first; and while they remove some difficulty, they dispel a portion of our fear: to avoid all ambiguity, and to prevent the least misunderstanding upon so nice a subject, you will permit me to explain the sense in which her Majesty understands the terms you make use of, and the plan you propose by the King's order.

You propose then, that the Prince who now governs Spain, should not, according to your plan, await the reversion of the Crown of France, before he makes choice of which of the two he prefers; but that the moment he becomes, either immediate successor, or presumptive heir to the Crown of France, he should be bound to declare his option, and you prescribe the same rule for his descendants.

Now, Sir, the Queen is of opinion, that the objection stated to your first proposal, is, in some measure, of force against this; for how shall Europe be at a certainty that this option will be declared in either of the two cases laid
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down by you? You will say, all the powers are guaranties of this agreement; such a guaranty may really form a powerful alliance, to wage war against the Prince who may violate this condition of the treaty; but our object is rather to find out the means to prevent, than to support, new wars.

At last, Sir, must we not allow, that no effectual expedient can be found to shelter Europe from the imminent danger, with which she is threatened by the union of the two monarchies, unless the Prince who is now in possession of Spain do immediately make his choice; and unless, from that choice, the order of succession to both crowns be established and ratified by the treaty of general peace?

The Queen observes, with very great satisfaction, that this plan is not widely different from that communicated to her by his Most Christian Majesty. Let us, if you please, in the first place, reason upon the supposition that this Prince will prefer the crown of his ancestors to that of Spain. There is in nature only one event that can happen to render our plan less advantageous to him than yours. Pardon me, if I suppose two cases, very unpleasant, but still necessary, to illustrate the question before us.

Should the young Dauphin die, the prince we speak of would become immediate successor to the crown of France: in this case then, he can lose nothing, by making choice of the crown of France from this time.

His Most Christian Majesty (whom God long preserve!) happening to die, the same prince would be presumptive heir to the crown of France: in this case then, what could he lose by making his choice in a manner agreeable to the Queen's wishes? Will it be said, that he runs the hazard of giving up Spain, and of not acquiring France? You must see, Sir, he would be liable to the same inconvenience according to the plan you propose. Upon the whole, of what I have said, the Queen's opinion is, that it is equally advantageous to the prince concerned, to make choice of the crown of France immediately, or to make it in either of the two situations mentioned in your letter; and you must be convinced, that the safety of Europe would be much better secured by the one than the other.

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If we reason upon the supposition that this prince will make choice of Spain, it is incontestibly true, in the first place, that it were better for him and for us, that such declaration should be made during the Congress at Utrecht, than at any other time; in the second place, that the guaranty of the Powers of Europe would be much more likely to prevent his return to France, contrary to the formal renunciation he will then have made of his right, than to force him to abandon a crown of which he is in possession, and to give up a pretension, which he has never renounced.

I have explained, Sir, as clearly as I am able, the Queen's sentiments, with respect to the contents of your last letter. The object of her research is the common safety of Europe; the Most Christian King has the same views: in the name of God, let us not, for the sake of the niceties of negotiation, lose the advantages within our grasp: let the King your master, and the Queen my mistress, share the glory of giving peace to Europe; and let those who wish to break off the conferences, by the events of the campaign, experience the overthrow of their projects, by the speedy conclusion of the treaty.

On the one hand, his Most Christian Majesty may be secure in the peaceable possession of the Crown of Spain for his grandson; on the other, he may strengthen the succession of that of France, may prevent for ever the union of the Empire with Spain, and may attain very essential advantages for his own kingdom: on all sides he may rid Europe of her fears, and give the *dernière main* to a work of such renown as that of a defensive, honourable, and lasting peace.

By letters from the Plenipotentiaries, I find, we are shortly to expect the arrival of M. Gaultier, and that he brings with him the plan of a general peace, which has been formed at Utrecht. We flatter ourselves that his Most Christian Majesty will explain himself, upon that head, in such a manner as to warrant her Majesty in making the declarations necessary to secure the success of our negotiations. As a man who is a sincere advocate for the peace, I will tell you, that the compliances, which may be expected from the Queen, will depend upon the resolution that may be taken, with respect to the grand article, the union of the two monarchies. Be persuaded that I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

VOL. II.

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To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 262.)

SIR,

Whitehall, April 11, O.S. 1712.

I HAVE stopped the messenger until this day, in hopes that the Lord Treasurer would be able to reply to the honour of your letter; but as the defluxion of his eyes, which has prevented him for these five days, still continues, I will no longer defer sending the annexed letter. We wait with impatience the arrival of M. Gautier, and it will be a misfortune to both sides should the answer we return to his dispatch, and your reply to what I now send, not make the peace.

I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 275.)

Marli, April 26, 1712.

THE point of union, Sir, is easily ascertained, when both parties have a sincere intention and an equal wish to determine it. It has afforded me much pleasure to observe, by the letter you did me the honour to write the 6th instant, O.S. that the plan I proposed had removed many difficulties, and done away many causes of fear. I hope also, that your reply to it will finish the business now before us.

According to your letter, Sir, the only difference, between the proposition made to you by the King's order, and the project of the King, turns solely upon the time, when the King of Spain is to declare his choice of preserving his right to the Crown of France, or to that of Spain. In my proposition, the moment for him to make the option was postponed to that period, when he should become either immediate successor, or presumptive heir to the Crown of France; and the same condition was observed with respect to his descendants. You remark, Sir, that by deferring till then a choice so essential to the quiet of Europe, there is no assurance that it will then be made, should, unhappily, such an occasion come round; that the guaranty of all the powers, parties to the treaty, would be an alliance sufficiently strong to make war upon the prince, who should violate the articles of the peace; but that the object
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now in view is to prevent a war, rather than to find the means of supporting one, which, on this account, might be kindled. You conclude then, that to prevent the union of the crowns, it is necessary that the Catholic King do directly declare his choice, without waiting for that unfortunate occasion, which we hope will never happen, but which we must suppose and look to, and that such choice should fix the order of the successions to be inserted in the treaty of a general peace.

Your observations, Sir, and your conclusions drawn from them, are equally just. The Catholic King must remove the disquietude of Europe, by an immediate declaration of the part he will take, should the succession be ever open to him. He may, indeed, find some uneasiness should he directly tell the Spaniards, that he would leave them, to return to France, when one of the two cases you suppose happens. A nation, uncertain how long their King may continue to govern, or who shall be their next ruler, may become less faithful subjects to him who actually governs them; but this inconvenience must give way to the general good. Thus, Sir, the King, approving your proposition, dispatches a messenger to Spain, and his Majesty writes to the King his grandson, to acquaint him with the urgency of his declaring his choice, so that it may be inserted in the treaty of a general peace, of which it is to form a condition under the guaranty of all Europe.

I hope, Sir, the King of Spain will conform to the King's advice; but, should it happen, which I can scarce suppose, that he will not comply, his Majesty will take all measures which the Queen of Great Britain may judge expedient to determine, even by force of arms, the choice of the Catholic King, and to secure to Europe a peace, which, at present, is so far advanced.

I am persuaded, that we shall not be forced to come to this extremity; but the King directs me to inform you of his resolution in this case, as a fresh proof of his good faith, and of his Majesty's real desire for the speedy conclusion of a sure and solid peace.

I consider it so far advanced, now the principal difficulty, which could make it doubtful, is removed. But we must still expect new obstacles from those who wish to break off the conferences. I believe, Sir, the best way to counteract their designs, would be for the Queen of Great Britain to propose immediately a suspension of arms, for

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they found their hopes upon the events of the campaign ; and as I see, by your letter, that her Britannic Majesty is inclined to make every necessary declaration to ensure the success of the negotiation, it appears to me, that a suspension of arms might be one of them.

I have detained Monsieur Gaultier some days longer than he ought to have continued here, waiting your reply ; and judging it necessary that he should be well informed of your sentiments before his departure for England.

I shall communicate to you his Majesty's intentions, with respect to the demands of your allies. The most difficult article being now, as it were, got over, I hope you will have nothing in view but the justice and stability of the peace ; and that the Queen of Great Britain, influenced by these grand motives, will give the first proof of her wishes to establish a perfect good understanding with the King.

By the same messenger I received the honour of your letter of the 11th inst. O.S. I am much concerned for the Lord Treasurer's illness, and ardently hope he may soon recover. It is of the greatest importance that those who, as you and his Lordship, have had the principal share in carrying on the work of peace, should also have the credit of completing it. I hope we may soon see the success of it ; and I beg you to believe, that on all occasions, I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 280.)

SIR,

Whitehall, April 29, 1711.

THE plan in your letter of the 8th inst. appeared to us to do away many difficulties, and to remove many causes of apprehension ; but from a misunderstanding of the King's intentions, and a wrong explication of the Queen's, we are at present more distant from an agreement for a peace than we expected to be.

It is very true, that the sole difference between the proposition made to me by the King's order, in the sense we understood it, and that transmitted to you by the Queen's directions, turns simply upon the time, when the Prince concerned will make his choice, either to keep his right to the Crown of France, by renouncing that of Spain, or to preserve that of Spain by renouncing that of France.

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In your letter of the 26th inst. the Most Christian King consents that this choice should take place, and be declared immediately ; but, Sir, you make no stipulation as to the carrying of it into effect, which is absolutely necessary to make the peace conclusive. The Abbé Gaultier explains the King's intentions in a different manner ; and I observe you say, that the Prince now reigning in Spain, must remove the disquietude of Europe by an immediate declaration of the part he will take, should the succession to France be ever open to him : in this manner our great work will not be much forwarded by the last proposal.

Had we understood it in the sense you now explain, you see, Sir, we should have run into a very great absurdity, since, rejecting your project, we should have formed another, against which, all the objections we have urged, and which, even in France, are considered as just and well founded, would have equal force. For though the Prince upon the Spanish Throne make his choice immediately, what additional security will that be to Europe, if the execution of that choice be deferred to a future period ? When you offer, that he shall declare his option immediately, you have already granted, that neither the stipulations of a treaty, nor the guaranty of all the Powers of Europe engaged in the war, can insure that this option shall be carried into effect. How then can we conclude that they are able to insure, when any of those events happen, which we reluctantly are obliged to look to and suppose, that he will then leave one crown to assume the other, pursuant to the choice now made and inserted in the treaty of a general peace ?

The Queen has repeatedly declared, that it was impossible she could be contented with any expedient, that was not of the most substantial nature, upon an article of such vast importance, as that of the union of the two monarchies ; to act otherwise, would be to give away all the advantages obtained by the blood of the allies, which has been shed during the war ; it would be, in fact, to betray the common cause of Europe, and to expose the present and future ages to one of the greatest dangers that the mind can form.

Her Majesty is indeed sincerely desirous of peace ; she even wishes that it should be reasonable for France ; but to obtain it, the interest of France must not be made incompatible with the general safety. We must so manage, that the

time may never occur, when the same Prince will have the crown of Spain upon his head, and his succession to that of France open to him.

If this Prince, of whom we are speaking, will not be contented with Spain, or if France will not, by excluding him, weaken her succession, must we, on that account, after peace is signed, be perpetually armed, and live in constant expectation of a renewal of war? The Queen will never consent to this, and her Majesty believes, that not one of the allies will agree to such hard terms.

To show, however, her readiness to contribute all in her power to satisfy his Most Christian Majesty, without wounding her honour, or sacrificing her interest and that of her allies, the Queen orders me, Sir, to propose to you an expedient, by which, King Philip may preserve his right to the Crown of his ancestors, and gain a recompence for Spain, which in this case he will be obliged to abandon.

Her Majesty therefore proposes, that this Prince do, with his family, immediately retire from Spain; that the Duke of Savoy, with his, repair thither, and take possession of that monarchy and the Indies; that King Philip enjoy the kingdom of Sicily, the hereditary states of his Royal Highness, with the Montferrat, Mantuan; and, in case he succeeds to the crown of France, that Sicily be ceded to the House of Austria, but that the other states remain to be in future considered as provinces of France.

The Queen could with this proposition should appear to come from his Most Christian Majesty, as an effect of his moderation, and a sacrifice he is willing to make, to extricate Europe from her present embarrassment, and to restore a general tranquillity.

Her Majesty thinks she now facilitates the conclusion of the peace by every means in her power, and requires nothing more than the fulfilment of the promise, made by the Most Christian King, when he declares himself ready to make use of all just and reasonable measures to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain upon the head of the same Prince.

The Queen commands me to add her hopes, that the proposal now made, by her order, will be accepted; but in all cases she insists, that your answer should be categorical and conclusive. Our present circumstances, as well as the season of the year, will not permit us to remain longer

longer in the uncertainty of war or peace. The parliament, to whom her Majesty has promised to communicate what has been done on the subject of peace, will become impatient, and the Queen thinks it her duty to impart to them the answer she may receive to this letter. The armies have already taken the field, and the events of one day may entirely change the aspect of affairs. Well disposed, as the Queen is, to forward the negotiation for peace, and to spare the effusion of blood, she cannot however declare for a suspension of arms, before she knows the Most Christian King's resolution, upon the expedient proposed, to prevent the union of the two Monarchies.—If I say nothing, Sir, of the plan for a general peace, which the Abbé Gaultier has brought us, it is because the Queen does not consider the differences, which occur in it as unsurmountable, provided the article relating to the union were once got over, and because, if we are not so fortunate as to succeed in adjusting this, it were useless to trouble ourselves with other points of the treaty. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

Note. (Page 268.)

GENERAL PLAN OF PEACE.

For Great Britain.

O. (1.) The King promises to consent, without difficulty, to every thing contained in the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th articles of the specific demands of the Queen of Great Britain.

(2.) The King will demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, as well those of the town as of the citadel, the Ryfbanks, and the other forts on the sea side, and, in three months after, those on the land side; to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications, the whole at his own expence, and with a promise never to repair them in the whole, or in part.

(3.) The King will give up the Island of St. Christopher to Great Britain, as also Newfoundland, on condition that the Town of Placentia be razed; that the French retain the free right to fish and dry cod at Newfoundland,

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foundland, in the places where they have been accustomed so to do. The small islands adjoining, and in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, shall be likewise ceded to England, it being well understood that the Island of Cap Breton, and others, in the Gulph and mouth of the River St. Lawrence, of which France is actually in possession, shall remain to the King.

(4.) The King will give up the province of Acadia, with the Town of Port Royal and its dependencies, to Great Britain, as also Hudson's Straits and Bay.

(5.) In the countries in North America ceded to Great Britain, the French shall be at liberty to withdraw their effects, as also his Majesty to withdraw the cannon and warlike stores.

D. England demands that the Town of Placentia remain in its present state.

That the cannon and warlike stores in Hudson's Bay remain for England.

R. His Majesty offers to let the fortifications of Placentia remain as they are, upon giving up that place to England; to consent to the demand made of the cannon in Hudson's Bay, and besides, to cede the Islands St. Martin and St. Bartholomew; to give up even the right to fish and dry cod on the coast of Newfoundland, if the English will restore Acadia, for these new cessions, proposed as an equivalent.

In this case, his Majesty consents, that the River St. George should be the boundary of Acadia, as England insists.

Should the Plenipotentiaries of that Crown refuse to enter into any expedient for the restitution of Acadia, the King, rather than break off the negociation, will comply with their demands already made; that is to say, to give up Placentia fortified, and the cannon in Hudson's Bay; it being well understood, that the offer to cede the Islands St. Martin and St. Bartholomew, and that of foregoing the right to fish and dry cod upon the coast of Newfoundland, are to be considered as if they had never been made.

(6.) After the peace, commissioners shall be appointed on both sides, to ascertain, within the compass of a year, the boundaries of Canada, or New France, on one side, and of Acadia, and the land of Hudson's Bay on the other, and to settle, in a friendly manner, all just and reasonable recompences

recompences insisted upon, on both sides, for injuries done prejudicial to the rights of peace and war.

(7.) The boundaries being once settled, the subjects of both crowns shall be reciprocally prohibited from passing the same, whether by land or sea; as also from disturbing the trade of the subjects of each nation, and molesting the Indian nations, allies, or subjects of either crown.

O. (8.) The King will permit the House of Hamilton, Colonel Charles Douglas, and others, to represent to him their several rights and pretensions, and will do them strict justice.

D. That the Duke of Richmond be considered as the heir of his mother.

R. The Duke of Richmond having obtained the King's letters of naturalization, shall, when peace is made, enjoy the privilege attached to the favour granted to him by his Majesty.

D. That the 4th article of the Treaty of Ryswick be abolished, and that the King do give no opposition to the regulating of affairs of religion in the empire, pursuant to the Treaty of Munster.

R. In consideration of England, the King wishes this affair should be regulated with the Empire; his Majesty having no intention to derogate from the treaties of Westphalia, on the subject of religion.

O. (9.) The King, in the name of the King of Spain, his grandson, promises that Gibraltar and Port Mahon shall remain in the hands of the English.

D. That an extent of country round Gibraltar, equal to two cannon shot, and the whole island of Minorca be ceded to England.

R. The King had great difficulty to induce the King of Spain to give up Gibraltar to the English, that Prince's intention being, as he often declared, not to yield an inch of land in Spain. It will be still much more difficult to obtain from him the smallest concession, on so important a point now, when he is urged to renounce his rights to the Crown of France, and look upon Spain as the only patrimony he can leave to his descendants.

So that this new demand will be sure of a refusal, and the power which his Majesty has received from the Catholic King, is directly contrary to such a pretension.

As he has not explained himself with regard to the entire cession of the Island of Minorca, the King will use his endeavours

endeavours to obtain it, as a sort of equivalent for territory round Gibraltar; and on this consideration, and from this time, his Majesty promises that the whole island of Minorca shall be ceded.

O. (10.) After the conclusion of the peace, the English shall have the transportation of negroes to the West Indies, otherwise called the *Asiento* treaty for negroes, upon the same conditions as agreed upon between the King of Spain and the French; so that the company, which for this purpose will be established in England, shall have the privilege of refreshing, selling, and delivering their negroes in all places and ports of America, upon the North Sea, in Buenos Ayres, and generally in all places and ports, where the ships of the Company established in France, under the name of the *Asiento*, are permitted to enter.

D. That the French do not withdraw their *Asiento* effects, otherwise than by English or Spanish vessels.

R. Those concerned in the *Asiento* Company, will strictly observe the terms of their agreement; consequently they cannot, under the pretence of bringing away their effects, trade to the Indies direct; and they would absolutely lose them, should they be forced to put them on board other vessels than those of their Company.

The peace, having for its object the general benefit of both French and English, it would be unjust that one of the first advantages, which results to England, should be to the prejudice of France; if the English will enter into a bargain to purchase the effects of the French company, this inconvenience will be avoided.

O. (11.) The said treaty shall be for thirty years, and there shall be assigned to the English *Asiento* Company, an extent of land upon the river de la Plata, where they may not only refresh their negroes, but keep them in safety until they be sold, according to terms to be stipulated in the *Asiento* contract; and to prevent any abuse of this concession, the King of Spain will appoint an officer to superintend, to whose inspection, those concerned in the said Company, and generally those whom they shall employ in their service shall be subject.

D. That this extent of territory be submitted to the choice of the English, and that the Spanish Inspector be suppressed.

R. The demands made to the King on this article, are known in England; his Majesty obtained them from the King his grandson, with great difficulty. He can neither demand nor grant in his name, any farther addition to what has been acceded to for the sake of the peace; if the English think proper to insist upon farther advantages, they must make a direct application to the Spanish Plenipotentiaries, who, for this purpose, must have the necessary passports sent to them, that they may repair to Utrecht.

(12.) All advantages, rights, and privileges, now granted, or which hereafter may be granted by Spain, to the subjects of France, or to any other nation whatever, shall be, in like manner, granted to the subjects of the Queen of Great Britain.

(13.) His Majesty promises, in like manner, that all merchandise of the growth of Great Britain, going from the ports of Spain, from whence vessels are dispatched for the Spanish Indies, shall be free of all duties of import and export, as well in Spain as in the Indies.

(14.) All the above articles shall be understood in the most ample and proper manner in the treaty of peace, and to them shall be added clauses for the cessation of hostilities, and other mutual assurances according to the common custom of preceding treaties, which shall be acknowledged to possess and have their former force and effect, except where they are repealed by this; and this clause shall be added at the end of each instrument.

For the Duke of Savoy.

O. (1.) His right and rank in the succession to Spain shall be acknowledged and declared, conformable to the will of Charles II.

D. That this article be in the following terms: the rank of the Duke of Savoy in the succession to Spain, shall be preserved for his Royal Highness, pursuant to his right.

R. In consideration of the English, the King is willing to pass this article as demanded, notwithstanding the interest

interest his Majesty may have to recall the will of Charles II.

O. (2.) The King will restore Savoy and the county of Nice to him, with their dependencies.

(3.) The King will also cede to him Exilles, Fenestrelles, with the valley of Pragelas.

D. His Royal Highness demands, besides the valleys on the other side of Mont Genevre, comprehending that of Château Dauphin, Fort Barraux, and the territory from this fort to the confines of Savoy (as mentioned in the 4th article of specific demands) the villages beyond the Rhone on the side of Savoy, the right of garrisoning Monaco, and the direct domain of Manton and Roquebrune.

R. The King cannot suppose that England, being sincerely desirous of peace, would give occasion for new wars, by giving up to the Duke of Savoy, the very gates of France. He has neither right nor apparent pretence to demand a part of Dauphiny. He cannot rest upon any just or reasonable foundation, his pretension to the possessions of a third person, such as the Prince of Monaco; so that his Majesty considers it as a great condescension in favour of England to give to the Duke of Savoy, Exilles, Fenestrelles, and the valley of Pragelas.

His Majesty was induced to think from the nature of the first propositions known in England, that this Prince would have been contented with the restitution of Savoy, and the county of Nice, without demanding those two places which can only belong to him by right of war or of courtesy.

O. (4.) The cession of the Milanese and other places made by the Emperor Leopold, to his Royal Highness shall be confirmed.

(5.) His Royal Highness may erect what fortifications he pleases in places acquired by former treaties, without, however, infringing the treaty of Turin, made in 1696.

D. That he have the power of fortifying what places he pleases, notwithstanding the treaty of Turin.

R. The apparent intention of the Duke of Savoy is to fortify Pignerol. The interest of France has not varied since the treaty of Turin, in 1696. It is not less important now, than it was then, to prevent the Duke of Savoy's fortifying this town; it may indeed be said that the danger is greater now, since that Prince has acquired Exilles

illes and Fenestrelles, and his power is increased on the side of Italy.

England, cementing a friendship with France, ought not to assume a less interest in the tranquillity of her provinces, than in the useless aggrandisement of the Duke of Savoy.

O. (6.) The trade from France to Piedmont, and from Piedmont to France, shall be carried on pursuant to the treaty of Turin.

(7.) His Royal Highness has free liberty to dispose of the barony of Effarts, and other possessions and effects which he may have in France.

(8.) The King consents that his Royal Highness should increase his dominions in Italy as much as he pleases.

For Prussia.

O. (1.) The King of Prussia shall be acknowledged as such by France.

(2.) The King will let him have the free enjoyment of the counties of Neufchâtel and Valengin, with a promise never to molest him, or afford any kind of assistance to those who may dispute his title to them.

D. These counties shall be acknowledged members of the Helvetic body, by consent of his Majesty.

R. This novelty does not depend upon the King's consent, the whole Helvetic body has an interest in this proposal. It would not be unanimously received by all the members of it; many would find an interest to oppose it, and probably all the protestant cantons would not be of the same opinion.

The counties of Neufchâtel and Valengin are allies of the Swiss. The King engages to acknowledge and to treat them as such.

O. (3.) The subjects of Prussia in their trade with France, shall enjoy the same advantages granted to the subjects of her Britannic Majesty and the States-General, upon condition of reciprocity.

(4.) The King will promote, with all his power, the pretensions of Prussia to the city and canton of Gueldre, the city and county of Ercklens as demanded, provided that by so doing, France do not incur an injury from those, who may dispute this possession with Prussia.

(5.) The

(5.) The King will give as far as 1,200,000 livres, French money, to this Prince, for the purchase of his rights to the principality of Orange.

D. That he may have the option either of the money offered, or of the Lezière in Franche Comté. He offers to give up to the King only the Castle of Joux, as an equivalent; moreover that the lands of the House of Châlons should be adjudged to him, and all edicts, decrees against the Protestants of Orange, should be annulled.

R. The King is of opinion that he makes a great concession, and shows his particular regard for England, by giving 1,200,000 livres to this Prince, under pretence of purchasing rights, of which his Majesty knows he cannot justly avail himself, against those who claim the principality of Orange.

There is therefore no question of choice between this offer, and a pretension so ill founded as that of the pretended Lezière in Franche Comté, which the Ministers of Prussia have demanded.

The sum of 1,200,000 livres offered to their master, is a present made to the King for the sake of the peace, under colour of the purchase of his rights to the principality of Orange: for otherwise his Majesty has no other reply to make, than to declare he will leave the several claimants the liberty of prosecuting their rights to the principality of Orange, before the proper tribunals.

This is the only answer he can give on the subject of the lands belonging to the House of Châlons, of which no one having an appearance of right of sovereignty, can consequently have any pretence to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges.

His Majesty is accountable to no one for the edicts and decrees which he may issue for the interior government of his kingdom.

(6.) If this King accepts the above conditions, his Majesty will acknowledge his title of Royalty.

(7.) The King consents, and even demands, that the Thirteen Cantons be comprehended in the general peace.

For Portugal.

O. The King will make the provisional treaty of 1700, between France and Portugal, definitive, reserving to himself

self the free navigation of the river Amazons, which ought to be so to both nations.

D. That the advantages promised by the House of Austria, as well in Spain as in the Indies, should be granted to him; that is to say, the cities of Badajos, Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Valencia, in Estramadura; those of Bayona, Vigo, Tuy, and Guardia, in Galicia.

That the district between the river of Plate and the Brazil be ceded to him, so that this river may be the boundary of the territories of both.

That King Philip V do give up to him, as a barrier, Coria, Ciudad Rodrigo, Puebla de Canabria, and Monterey, with their dependencies.

That Spain, in the sequel, do pay the balance due to the old Portugal Assiento Company. to which England and the States-General are guaranties; and lastly, that France give up the lands of Cape North, in South America, notwithstanding any treaty, provisional or definitive.

R. If the King of Portugal had conquered Spain, or had contributed large armies to reduce it for the Archduke, he could not make higher demands than those contained in this article. The Catholic King will cede nothing in Spain to the Portuguese.

There is no probability that he will be more compliant with the demands made in the Indies. This is an article for discussion between the Plenipotentiaries of Spain and Portugal, as also the adjustment of accounts of what may be due to the old Assiento Company in Portugal.

We must only observe, that were the pretensions of Portugal listened to, the Catholic King would have nothing but the name of King of Spain, his kingdom would be divided with a powerful enemy; and to obtain a power equally uncertain and hazardous, he is to be compelled to renounce his rights, and those of his descendants, to the monarchy of France.

The King does a great deal for the Portuguese, when he consents to make the provisional treaty, concluded at Lisbon, in 1700, definitive. This is all that his Majesty can grant; they desired nothing more when they signed the offensive treaty with his Majesty and the King of Spain.

For

For the House of Austria and the Empire.

O. (1.) The Rhine shall be the boundary between France and the Empire, so that the King will give up Brisac and Fort Kehl, in their present state, will cede Landau as it is, will demolish all the forts in his possession beyond the Rhine or upon the Rhine, comprehending Fort Louis, as well as that of Pile near Strasburg, upon condition, and not otherwise, that the King do retain all his possessions on this side of that river, pursuant to the treaty of Ryswic.

D. That Strasburg be given up, Huninguen and New Brisac demolished. That Alsace remain to France only according to the literal sense of the treaty of Munster, as interpreted by the Empire and the House of Austria.

R. The King will keep Strasburg, given up to his Majesty, not only in consequence of the cession of Alsace, but also as an exchange for Fribourg, Brisac, and the right of placing a garrison in Philipsburg, acquired by his Majesty by the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen.

The fortifications of New Brisac shall stand, as that place will be necessary for the barrier of France, when Old Brisac is ceded to the House of Austria.

There is no other interpretation to be given to the treaty of Munster, with respect to the possession of Alsace, than the sense in which it was understood by the Ambassadors and Ministers who signed the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswic.

O. (2.) The King will acknowledge the Elector of Hanover.

(3.) The Elector of Treves shall be re-instated in possession of the city of Treves, and generally in whatever belongs to him.

D. He requires his re-establishment in the Grand Priory of Castile, and the restitution of profits, which he pretends have only been sequestered.

R. The King promises to obtain from the King of Spain the restoration of the Grand Priory of Castile to the Elector of Treves.

With regard to the restitution of the profits, his Majesty promises his endeavours to obtain them, not knowing what, in this case, may be the custom in Spain; and it must still be a subject of discussion with the Plenipotentiaries of that Crown.

O. (4.)

O. (4.) The King will consent, if the Empire judge it expedient, that the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel shall have possession of Rhynfels, St. Goar, and Kehl, on condition that religion remain in its present state.

D. That the article about religion be submitted to the decision of the Empire.

R. As this is a matter which relates to the Empire solely, it may be left to its decision.

O. (5.) As to what relates to the House of Austria in particular, his Majesty engages that the King of Spain shall give up to it, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the four places in Tuscany, and as much of the Duchy of Milan, as shall not be ceded to the Duke of Savoy, together with the Spanish Netherlands, except the city and territory of Gueldre, which remain with Prussia, as above-mentioned.

D. That Sicily be given up to the House of Austria.

R. His Majesty and the King of Spain are not only bound to re-instate the Elector of Bavaria in his territories, but also to remunerate him for the losses he suffered during the war; on this account the Catholic King gave him the Spanish Netherlands, from which, if for the sake of the peace he be obliged to recede, his Majesty and the King of Spain are bound to provide for him some other recompence. The kingdom of Sicily is the only dominion that Spain can dispose of in his favour, in discharge of their engagements to him.

It becomes more necessary to urge this condition, inasmuch as it is evident that the Empire opposes his reinstatement in the rank of first Elector, and demands of him the Upper Palatinate for the Elector Palatine, and after him to his brother Prince Charles of Neuburg, not to revert to the Elector of Bavaria, or to his children, till after the death of these Princes.

O. (6.) The whole, upon condition that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria be restored to their estates, dignities, goods, moveables, &c.

D. No objection will be made to the restoration of the duchy of Bavaria, to the Elector of that name; and to his being the 9th, or last Elector, upon condition that he yield the Upper Palatinate, and the dignity of first Elector, without hope of recovering his rank, until the death of the Elector Palatine, and of his brother Prince Charles.

And as to the Elector of Cologne, whenever he is restored

stored to his estates, the garrison of the city of Bonn shall be appointed and regulated according to the wishes of the allies.

R. Though this be a condition prejudicial to the Elector of Bavaria, yet the King consents to it, on account of his remuneration in the kingdom of Sicily, because the title of King will do away any thing degrading in the rank of last Elector, which is intended to be given to him, instead of the first rank in the Electoral College.

His Majesty proposes that the fortifications of Bonn should be demolished, and this expedient appears to him more proper, than placing a garrison in that city, independent of the Elector.

O. (7.) A general pardon shall be mutually granted to the subjects of all parties in the Spanish monarchy, who may have espoused different interests during the war, with a restoration to their estates and honours.

For the States-General.

O. (1.) The Catholic Netherlands, except such as shall remain to the King and Gueldre, as before-mentioned, shall belong to the House of Austria.

(2.) The barrier shall be formed of the Spanish Netherlands, which the allies are now in possession of; to which shall be added Luxemburg (reserving a principality of the yearly value of 30,000 crowns, granted by the King of Spain to the Princess Ursini) Namur, Charleroy, Neuport, Ypres and its Châtelleny, Furnes and Furnamback, la Knoque, Menin and its Verge, upon condition that Lille, in its present state, with its dependencies, shall be restored to France as an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk and Tournay, with the Tournesis, Douay, Bethune, Aire, and Bouchain, in their present state, with their dependencies; as also all the cannon and ammunition which may be therein, in exchange for places which France gives up to strengthen the barrier, and for those which shall be ceded by the Elector of Bavaria, and of which he is now in possession.

D. Besides the places offered for the barrier, Tournay with the Tournesis, as also Condé, together with the cannon and ammunition in the places given up, are demanded.

Moreover,

Moreover, a renunciation *in perpetuū* for all Kings, Princes, and Princesses of the blood of France, of all rights, present, future, or possible, to those places which compose the barrier, whether in the whole or in part.

The principality, to be granted or reserved to the Princess Ursini, is refused.

R. The King insists upon the restitution of Tournay and the Tournesis, as essential to secure the barrier which France must keep up in the Netherlands.

This barrier is the more important, as the power of the House of Austria is become formidable, by the union of so many considerable states in the person of the same Prince. Every thing is to be apprehended from so dangerous a neighbour, more employed in his own affairs than any of his predecessors, who glories in following the steps of Charles V, and does not conceal his design of increasing his power. There is also no doubt that Holland will assist him, experience having proved, that far from dreading the power of the House of Austria, that republic centres its glory and security in aggrandising the domains of the House of Austria.

The same reason, the security of the frontiers of the kingdom, requires that the King should keep Condé, and his Majesty must not yield in this article.

As he is well aware of the consequences of giving them up, so he will experience great pleasure, if England will assist him in contributing to the restitution of Tournay and the Tournesis, and will prevent a repetition of demands on the subject of Condé; and to give a real proof of his acknowledgment to that crown, his Majesty will engage, that if Tournay and the Tournesis are restored to him, all demands of Condé cease, and he keep this place at the peace; he will, in this case, consent, out of pure regard to England, to fill up the port of Dunkirk, although his Majesty, knowing the prejudice which this condition, so strongly insisted upon by the English, will do to him, hath always refused to grant it.

He will agree to destroy the fortifications of Berg St. Vinox, with its dependency, Fort François; and, should it be necessary, to give up this city, razed, to the Prince, to whom the Netherlands may belong.

He will, in like manner, consent to leave the cannon and ammunition which may be found in the places ceded by him; upon condition, that the cannon and ammunition

shall also remain in the places ceded to him, or belonging to his Majesty.

The condition should be reciprocal, either to leave all the artillery, &c. in the places given up, as well by the King as his enemies, or to ascertain the quantity that shall be left in each place.

The renunciation required of the King, is an article drawn from the preliminaries of 1709. There is great reason to reject it as useless, and even absurd; but his Majesty will grant it.

As the principality reserved for the Princess Ursini, cannot affect public affairs, the King's wish is, that the difficulty, with respect to this article, could be done away.

O. (3.) The commerce with Spain and the Indies, shall be on the same foot as in the reign of Charles II; that with France shall be according to the treaty of Ryswic; the tariff of 1664 shall be observed, with the exception of four species of merchandise, on conditions to be agreed upon.

D. The discussion upon the four species of merchandise is deferred.

R. The King consents to it.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 314.)

SIR,

Versailles, May 13th, 1712.

I HAVE received the honour of your letter, and was very sorry to remark the great difference, between the proposition you made to me, by the Queen's order, and the answer I gave you, by command of his Majesty; for want of understanding each other, we have lost much time, every moment of which was precious, and now we are under the necessity of sending to the King of Spain for a new decision, upon a plan which had been proposed to him, in a different sense to that in which you understood it.

I acknowledge, Sir, my apprehensions, that this explanation would be productive of new embarrassment from the Court of Madrid, if the King had not resolved to surmount all the difficulties which his Majesty might meet with, relative to an article that is to lay the foundation of peace, and to sacrifice even the interest of his family, for the restoration of public tranquillity. To remove these obstacles,

obstacles, therefore, the King has this day offered two propositions to his grandson.

The first, to renounce in the treaty of peace, for himself and his descendants, his right to the Crown of France, and to be contented with Spain and the Indies.

The second, to retain his right to the Crown of France, but to give up, in the mean time, Spain and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy, and to be satisfied with the dominions which the Duke of Savoy now possesses; that is to say, the principality of Piedmont, the duchies of Savoy and Montferrat, and the county of Nice: lastly, to retain the kingdom of Sicily, of which his Catholic Majesty is still master, upon condition, nevertheless, that if he should one day succeed to the Crown of France, he should only keep the territories which now belong to the Duke of Savoy, and that, in that case, Sicily should go to the House of Austria.

It were desirable that the King could now know his grandson's intentions, on either of these alternatives; but we must, of necessity, await the return of the messenger, whom his Majesty has dispatched to Madrid.

However, he orders me to assure you, that the treaty of peace shall be built upon one or the other of these propositions; that is to say, the King of Spain shall renounce his right to the Crown of France, and retain only Spain and the Indies; or he shall consent to the exchange of Spain and the Indies, for the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, upon the conditions I have mentioned.

You must then, Sir, consider what I now write by the King's order, as the final answer you require, which ought to remove all uncertainty, with regard either to the peace or the continuation of the war.

It appears, Sir, that the peace would be still more certain, if we were to agree to a suspension of arms, now, when both parties may expect a fortunate issue; but we must leave to her Majesty's prudence, to determine what she may judge most convenient for the general welfare, which she has as much at heart as any person. It would be very unfortunate should any event of the campaign disturb our present good disposition towards the re-establishment of public tranquillity.

I hope you will soon give it its last polish, and entreat you to believe that no one can honour you more perfectly, than he more truly, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 317.)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 10th, O.S. 1712.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 13th inst. N.S. yesterday evening, and this morning I read it to her Majesty.

The Abbé Gaultier will give you an account of the orders I have just dispatched to the Duke of Ormond; the Queen depends entirely upon the good faith of his Most Christian Majesty, and only waits for his Majesty to communicate the resolution of the King of Spain, at the return of the messenger from Madrid, before she makes the necessary declarations to conclude the great work of the peace. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To Count Maffei. (Page 318.)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 10th, O.S. 1712.

YOU will not be surpris'd, considering the present state of the negociation for peace, and the season of the year, to learn that the Queen has determin'd not to leave affairs of such importance as the continuation of the war, or the restoration of the peace of Europe, any longer in their present uncertainty.

The Earl of Strafford, has received her Majesty's orders to repair immediately to Court; he will stop here only a few days, and will carry decisive instructions with him to Holland.

In a crisis of such moment, the Queen is desirous to have, at her Court, a Minister of his Royal Highness, whose interest is as dear to her as her own; and she has ordered me, Sir, to inform you, that she judges it absolutely necessary, that you should repair hither without the loss of a moment.

As you will return to Utrecht, with the Queen's Minister, and consequently your stay in London will be short, you will probably not encumber yourself with much equipage.

The Queen does not doubt his Royal Highness's approval of your conduct; should you want any excuses, the Queen would make them for you.

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I should add, that the negociation at Utrecht being, as it were, suspended, the Queen thinks it will not be difficult to find a pretence for your journey; at all events, her Majesty hopes we are so near the settlement of our great concerns, that it will be of no great consequence, what impressions may be made on the public by this step.

I am, &c.

To Monsieur Marschalch. (Page 329.)

Whitehall. May 17th, 1712.

OUR friend Breton did me great justice, when he assured you, as he certainly has done, that I remember you, Sir, with all possible esteem and affection. Be pleased to preserve for me the honour of your friendship, and rest assured I will, at all times, endeavour to deserve it.

The Queen never intended to communicate any thing to her Parliament, like what is mentioned in the report which has, according to your letter of the 17th, N.S. prevailed. We may, I believe, entertain hopes that such a communication will be made in a short time. We now wait to see, what part the enemy will take, upon the subject of the great article, the union of the two monarchies.

Her Majesty, Sir, has, in truth, made great advances to renew the bonds of friendship and confidence with the States-General, which have subsisted ever since the beginning of her reign, and could not have been broken at a more unfortunate period than the present. But you ought not to take umbrage at that. The Queen will enter into no engagement, that may not be agreeable to the interests of the King your master; and to speak openly to you, I do not see that the Hollanders make the Queen such returns, as might induce her to show them great attention. Those gentlemen do not see, even now, that the Queen governs in Great Britain, and that their friends, the faction, have neither influence nor credit.

You ask me, Sir, if I think the negociation will continue long? My reply is, that I hope the Earl of Strafford will carry back with him the conclusion of the peace.

This moment one of our Messengers brings me your letter of the 24th, N.S.; keep your mind easy, I conjure you, as to the conduct the Queen will observe with regard to his Prussian Majesty.

Peace will never be made, with the consent of our Court,

Court, unless it be a good one for all the allies; but the manner in which the King entered into the Queen's measures, oblige her Majesty to be particularly careful of his interest, for this I dare be answerable to you, and you know I pride myself in being a man of honour, as much as being, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 335-)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 24th, O.S. 1712.

FROM the report which the Earl of Strafford, who has, within these few days, arrived at Court, has made to the Queen, as well concerning the state of the negotiations at Utrecht, as the temper of mind, in which he left the Ministers of the allied powers, her Majesty is confirmed in the opinion, some time since entertained, that in order to obtain a general peace, it is become necessary for her to declare her mind in a different manner to what she has hitherto done.

You already know, Sir, that the Queen cannot excuse herself from the communication she promised to her Parliament, concerning the negotiation of peace, as soon as she receives King Philip's decision; that is also the point of time, when either the negotiation will be absolutely broken off, or the Queen will be enabled to lead it to a successful conclusion, in spite of all opposition whatever.

I have therefore the Queen's orders to communicate to you the steps she is resolved to take; provided the Most Christian King will make them practicable.

Her Majesty will inform her Parliament and all her allies, first, that she has settled the interests of Great Britain with the Most Christian King.

Secondly, that she considers those of the other powers engaged with her in the war, as very easy of adjustment, since to the greater part of them, the King offers nearly the amount of their demands, and to all of them just and reasonable satisfaction.

Thirdly, that she is about to use her best endeavours for the accommodation of her allies; and that, in order to prevent all accidents, which the events of the campaign may occasion, to disturb the negotiation of peace, she has agreed with the King for a suspension of arms.

Such, Sir, are the measures which the Queen is ready to

to adopt, and of which she has ordered me to inform you, and you will find in the subjoined memorial, the conditions upon which her Majesty consents to make such important advances, and such decisive declarations. As these demands have been drawn with a view to facilitate the great work of peace, and not to obtain any new advantage, the Queen promises herself that his Most Christian Majesty will consent to them.

We are now at the most awful crisis that Europe has experienced for many years; and the answer I shall receive to this dispatch, will either insure the peace, or plunge us into the miseries of war; for you must observe, Sir, that at the return of the messenger, either the suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, must be openly declared, or our army, without farther loss of time, must begin the operations of the campaign. Instead of being in any dread of the latter, I am willing to flatter myself that the former of these two cases will happen. *The orders dispatched to the Duke of Ormond, after the arrival of the messenger who brought me your letter of the 18th N.S.* together with her Majesty's present resolves, are so essential a mark of her good faith, of her sincere desire of peace, and of her confidence in his Most Christian Majesty, that we have a right to expect the King will act in the same manner, and that in a few weeks we shall see, not only the general repose of Europe, but the revival of a good understanding between two nations, who may become the most serviceable friends to each other, for the same reason as they have been the most formidable enemies.

The Queen commands me to add her hopes, that, when she receives the reply to this letter, you will be able to inform her that the Chevalier has commenced his journey.

I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

MEMORIAL. (Page 337.)

Concerning North America.

To terminate all existing disputes with respect to North America, the Queen proposes:

First. That his Most Christian Majesty do cede to her the Island of Newfoundland, with Placentia, and the fortifications, artillery, and ammunition thereto belonging, the

the adjacent small Islands nearest to the Island of Newfoundland, as also Nova Scotia, or Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries.

Secondly. That the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty may continue to fish and dry their fish on that part of Newfoundland which is called the Petit Nord, but upon no other part whatever.

Thirdly. That the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty may possess, in common with those of the Queen, the Island of Cape Breton.

Fourthly. That the Islands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and in the mouth of the River of that name, which are now occupied by the French, remain to his Most Christian Majesty, but upon this express condition, that his said Majesty do engage, neither to build, nor suffer to be built, any fortifications upon those Islands, or upon those of Cape Breton. Her Majesty the Queen engaging also not to fortify, or suffer to be fortified, the Islands adjacent, and nearest to, Newfoundland, or those of Cape Breton.

Fifthly. The Queen insists to have the guns and ammunition in all the forts and places in Hudson's Bay and Straits.

Concerning Commerce.

As there are some existing difficulties which prevent the final settlement of the Treaty of Commerce, between Great Britain and France, so soon as could be wished, on account of many excessive duties imposed in both kingdoms; and as it is expedient for the subjects of both, that the trade should be open and effectual as soon as possible, the Queen would have, on that account, many proposals to make to his Most Christian Majesty; but as these points might occasion much discussion, which the present crisis will not allow of, the Queen, more inclined to secure the public repose than her own particular advantage, contents herself with making two demands, which she believes will meet with no difficulty:

First. That in case of difference upon the points in dispute concerning commerce, commissaries shall be named, on both sides, to assemble at London, to examine and regulate duties and imposts to be paid in each kingdom; and that such an arrangement do take place, that the commerce of the two nations may be encouraged and extended.

Secondly. That no privilege or advantage, with respect
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to the commerce of France, shall be granted to any foreign nation, which shall not, at the same time, be granted to the subjects of Great Britain. In like manner, no privilege or advantage, with respect to the commerce of Great Britain, shall be granted to any foreign nation, which shall not, at the same time, be granted to the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty.

Concerning the Suspension of Arms.

The Queen will consent to a suspension of arms for a term of two months, upon condition,

First. That within the said term, the article respecting the union of the two monarchies, be punctually and entirely executed; that is to say, either King Philip shall, within that time, renounce, for himself and his descendants, his rights to the Crown of France, and shall consent that such renunciation be inserted in the future treaty of peace; or that he shall depart out of Spain with his family within that term, giving up that kingdom and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy: all the conditions being specified in my letter of the 29th of April, O.S. and accepted by that of Monsieur de Torcy of the 18th of this month, N.S.

Secondly. That the French garrison shall march out of the town and citadel of Dunkirk and its dependent forts, and that her Majesty's troops shall enter it, on the day the suspension of arms commences; and that this place do remain in the Queen's hands until the States-General have consented to give his Most Christian Majesty such an equivalent, for the demolition of that place, as may be satisfactory to his Majesty.

It being, however, in this case, understood, that his Most Christian Majesty shall be under an obligation to demolish all the fortifications of that place, to fill up the harbour, and destroy the sluices, in the manner required by the Queen's Plenipotentiaries.

Thirdly. In case the States-General consent at the same time as the Queen, to a suspension of arms, it seems reasonable to allow them the liberty of putting a garrison into Cambray, on the day the said suspension takes place.

Whitehall, May 24, O.S. 1712.

Conferences

Conferences about the Duke of Ormond not attacking the Enemy. (Page 341.)

Hague, June 3, 1712.

THEIR High Mightinesses having invited all the Ministers of the High Allies, to repair to the general chamber of Congress, they appeared; and after being seated promiscuously, Monsieur de Broeckhuysen, at the head of the Deputies of the States-General, of the Council of State, and of the Plenipotentiaries of the State of Utrecht, as many as are now here, informed them, that the reason why the Ministers of the Allies were desired to attend, was a letter which the States had received from their deputies at the army; in which they take notice, that at a council of war, held May 28, we were judged to be in condition to attack the enemy with great advantage, but that the Duke of Ormond excused himself, by declaring, he had orders not to fight; upon which he was asked, if, at least, he would not order his army to cover a siege they were about to undertake; but to this, his answer was, that he had no orders to act offensively in any way; that the States had just cause to be surprized at such conduct, and particularly, that the Duke refusing to march with the other allied army against the enemy, and upon the point of attacking him, had declared himself in that manner; that thereupon their High Mightinesses had ordered their Deputies at the army, conjointly with the Prince of Savoy, to endeavour to induce the Duke of Ormond to change his resolution, and to concur with the other allies in what might be just and proper for an attack upon the enemy, though no good effect was expected. That nevertheless they had ordered their Envoy at the British court to complain of this manner of proceeding, and to desire that the orders may be changed, in order that the Duke of Ormond may concur vigorously in the operations of the campaign. At the same time orders were dispatched to the Plenipotentiaries of the States of Utrecht, to complain to my Lord Bishop of Bristol, which they executed yesterday morning; that the Bishop of Bristol at first wished to justify this proceeding, but being pressed by the reasoning of the Plenipotentiaries, he at length declared himself in the following manner, according to the very words recited by the Plenipotentiaries: that he had the Queen's orders to tell them, in the most solemn manner, that since her Majesty had seen all her advances to the States

so ill seconded, and that the States would not act in concert with her Ministers in the work of peace, her Majesty would attend to her own interests solely. That the Plenipotentiaries upon that, having replied, with much propriety, in justification of the States, my Lord Bishop became more inflexible in his assertion, and at last explained himself farther, in the following terms: that her Majesty considered herself as under no obligation whatever to the States. That, besides this, the same Plenipotentiaries relate, in a second letter, that the said Lord Bishop, at another conference, declared, that the Queen considered herself to be in a condition, and under an obligation, after all her advances, to make peace with or without the States. The said M. de Broeckhuysen added to all this, that the Bishop's declaration might serve as the States' apology to all the allies, for not having taken any step, with respect to the peace, without communicating the same to the allies, with an assurance that they shall continue to do so. That, in this case, the States, with the approbation of the allies, had resolved to repeat their orders to their Minister at London, to remonstrate strongly upon the business in justification of the States, who had never refused to declare or act in concert with respect to the peace, with all the allies, and that, what was now done, was contrary to the declaration made to their Ministers in London, and to those made by the British Ministers here; that, therefore, they should insist upon a revocation of the orders given to the Duke of Ormond, and that her Majesty do not withdraw herself from her allies: M. de Broeckhuysen concluded by saying, that this communication had been made to the Ministers of the allies to learn their sentiments upon the subject.

Count Sinzendorf then spoke, lamenting the incident that had occurred; he commended the resolution of the States, by saying, that during almost six years that a treaty of peace had been on foot, the Emperor and the States had always been ready to listen to proposals, and latterly, in order to know the Queen's sentiments, offered to come in to any terms at all proper, even to give up a part of his rights, but that hitherto they had received no communication; the Count thought they might write to the Ministers of the other allies at London, to support the Minister of the States in his remonstrances, and, for his own part, he was enabled to do so, without waiting for any new order from the Emperor his master.

M. de Bothmar followed him. He conformed entirely, offering

offering also to write to the Minister of his Court in London, to concur with the said remonstrances. The Ministers of Prussia declared themselves willing to make a faithful report of what had passed, not doubting soon to receive due instructions in so urgent a case, and that his Majesty would always concur with what might promote the union of the allies. The Ministers of the King of Poland, the Elector Palatine, Hesse, &c. conformed to the same opinion, after which the conference broke up.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 351.)

S I R,

Whitehall, May 28, 1712.

BY the Queen's orders I write to inform you, that the remonstrances to her Majesty from the States-General, upon occasion of the Duke of Ormond's refusal, either to attack the French army, or to undertake any siege, have had no other effect than a repetition of the same orders to the Duke. But in case Prince Eugene and the Deputies of the States (which is not very probable) should continue obstinately bent upon the siege of any place, though the Queen's army have no concern in it, yet the Duke of Ormond ought then to beg the Marechal will not undertake any thing against them, nor oblige him, by that, to come to an action.

In very few days, we shall receive the last resolution of his Most Christian Majesty, and the decision of King Philip; upon that the Queen will make the declaration mentioned in my letter of the 24th instant, which will extricate us from our present uncertainty, or she will give orders to her General to act with the utmost vigour.

A delay so inconsiderable cannot prejudice your interests; on that account the Queen doubts not the Marechal will consider himself bound to prevent a general action, by not marching towards the allies, as the Duke of Ormond has already done, by refusing to march against the army of France.

I send this letter to the Duke of Ormond, that he may transmit it with one he is ordered to write to the Marechal de Villars, who will, without fail, convey it to you. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 353.)

S I R,

Whitehall, June 7, O.S. 1712.

I WRITE you this private letter, to repeat to you that it is impossible the Queen can have greater dependence on the good faith of his Most Christian Majesty. She considers this mutual confidence as the only means to establish the peace of Europe.

The Queen also agrees in sentiments with the King, that the suspension of arms is absolutely necessary, to take, from the enemies of peace, the power to prevent or retard its conclusion; but, Sir, you will please to consider, that it is neither the interest of the King or the Queen, that things should remain, with respect to that, in their present circumstances. It will probably not be convenient to you, that Marechal de Villars should continue inactive, while Prince Eugene besieges Quesnoy, and it will not be much to the Queen's honour, that the Duke of Ormond should continue a quiet spectator of what passes between the armies of France and of the allies, before he can roundly declare that the suspension of arms is agreed upon.

You say, Sir, that telling the Dutch that the British troops will have the charge of the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, is no threat to them; but permit me to call to your observation what is one, and that is, to declare to them that the Queen will no longer act against France; that his Most Christian Majesty has left them no excuse for their obstinacy; and, finally, that they must exert themselves, for their own accommodation, or they run the hazard of bringing a burden upon their backs which they are not in a condition to stand under.

The Abbé Gaultier will write to you upon the subject of the Chevalier.

It only remains for me to assure you, that I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN."

From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 355.)

SIR,

Verfailles, June 8th, 1712.

I HAD the honour to write to you the 18th of laſt month, that the King, deſirous to ſmooth the principal difficulty in the way of the general tranquillity, made two propoſitions to the King of Spain: the one, to renounce, in the treaty of peace, for himſelf and his deſcendants, his rights to the Crown of France, and to confine himſelf to Spain and the Indies; the other, to keep his right to the Crown of France, but to give up Spain and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy, and to content himſelf with the exchange of the dominions, which the Duke of Savoy now enjoys, with the addition of the kingdom of Sicily. I informed you, Sir, that his Majeſty diſpatched a meſſenger to Madrid, to obtain more ſpeedy information of his grandſon's intentions, upon one or the other of theſe alternatives; and that he ordered me, nevertheleſs, to aſſure you, that the peace ſhould be founded upon one or the other of them.

I ſaw, in your answer of the 21ſt, the Queen's entire reliance on the King's good faith, and that ſhe waited for a communication of his reſolutions, at the return of the meſſenger from Madrid; her Majeſty being deſirous then to make the neceſſary declarations to conclude the work of peace.

The meſſenger bearing this important deciſion, is arrived; and the King of Spain has written to his Majeſty, and has declared, in expreſs terms, to his Majeſty's Envoy there, that he accepts the firſt propoſition; that is to ſay, to keep Spain and the Indies, and, for himſelf and his deſcendants, to give up his right to the Crown of France, and this to be inſerted in the treaty of peace.

Thus, then, is the principal obſtacle to the peace ſurmounted; and the Queen will ſee, Sir, that ſhe was not miſtaken in her confidence in the good faith of the King.

His Majeſty, at preſent, waits for the Queen, on her part, to remove the difficulties, which the enemies to peace wiſh ſtill to keep alive, to prevent its concluſion. And as you aſſure me, Sir, that at the return of the meſſenger, her Britannic Majeſty will make the neceſſary declarations for that purpoſe, the King is of opinion, that
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the first, and most urgent, is to secure a suspension of arms, either general, or, at least, mutually, between the armies in the Netherlands, and which may last till the conclusion of the peace.

His Majesty is persuaded, that this will likewise be the opinion of the Queen of Great Britain; since the orders given to the Duke of Ormond leave no room to doubt her Britannic Majesty's intentions.

The more I see of inclination towards the peace, the greater is my desire to be able to congratulate with you upon its accomplishment, and to assure you, that I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 357.)

SIR,

Marli, June 10th, 1712.

I THIS morning received, by your messenger, the honour of your letter of the 24th of May.... June 5, with the inclosed memorial, both which I have read to the King. His Majesty observes, with great pleasure, the Queen's wise arrangements for the more speedy and fortunate conclusion of the peace. I am in hopes that her Britannic Majesty's resolutions will be well seconded by the prompt decision of the King of Spain, of which I informed you the day before yesterday, when the messenger, La Vigne, thought he should be with you as to-day.

I have, therefore, no reason to fear the negociation will be broken off, notwithstanding the opposition of the enemies to the peace may still make. It should seem they intend to proceed to the utmost lengths, if it be true, as our letters from the army, two days ago, assure us, that they are investing Quesnoy with an intention to besiege it. The orders sent by you to the Duke of Ormond, are so positive, that the King cannot suppose her Majesty would approve of such an enterprize, and still less, that her troops should be employed to forward it. His Majesty has, however, ordered me to write, requiring to know what the Queen's army will do, if Marechal Villars should attempt to relieve the place, in case it is besieged.

You must certainly see, that if we do not agree upon an immediate suspension, we may be unavoidably engaged in some great event. I hope, from your care and prudence,

VOL. II.

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we may avoid it, and that nothing will disturb the perfection of a work so nearly concluded.

I also flatter myself, that the answer I have now the honour to send to your memorial, will create no new difficulty, and that the Queen, who has experienced so many proofs of his Majesty's good faith, will persist in her confidence, without urging demands, that might betoken a suspicion, of which we are convinced her Britannic Majesty is incapable.

You may assure her, Sir, that the Chevalier is every moment ready to depart; we only wait to know where he can go to, and in what place he may be in security. I confess, I know of no Prince who will receive him, from a fear of the displeasure of the Queen, or of the other Powers; some explanation upon this subject will be absolutely necessary, which I beg you to give me, by means of the Abbé Gaultier, if you do not think proper to communicate it yourself. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

The King's Answer to the Memorial sent from London, June 5, O.S. 1712. (Page 359.)

ARTICLE I. His Majesty consents to cede to the Queen of Great Britain, the Island of Newfoundland, with the Town of Placentia, fortified; but the artillery and ammunition in this place shall be withdrawn, and not comprehended in the cession of that place and island, as not being attached to either; and, to use a common comparison, the ammunition and artillery of a place may be considered as the furniture of a house, which the individual takes away with him, when, by voluntary agreement, he gives up the house. The isles adjacent to Newfoundland were neither demanded nor promised, in the articles signed at London, in October last: as these have been, from the beginning, considered as the basis of the present negotiation, the King's intention is to comply with them exactly, as the most sure method of arriving at a conclusive treaty; and his Majesty is persuaded, that the Queen of Great Britain, true to her word, will not insist upon a new demand, and which cannot be found in the agreement, signed in her name. The King will add to that agreement, the cession
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of Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries, as demanded by the Queen of Great Britain.

Secondly. The articles signed at London, reserve to the King's subjects the right to fish and dry their cod upon the island of Newfoundland; an arrangement, which both sides have agreed to, cannot be restricted nor altered but by mutual agreement for their common advantage. Upon this plan, his Majesty offers to England, to give up the artillery and ammunition of Placentia, the isles adjacent to Newfoundland, to forbid his subjects the liberty of fishing and drying cod on the coast of that island, even the district called the Petit Nord; to add to these conditions, the cession of the islands of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew, close to that of St. Christopher, on condition that the Queen of Great Britain do consent to restore Acadia, of which the River St. George is, in future, to be the boundary, as the English formerly required. It is then submitted to the choice of the Queen of Great Britain, either to abide by the articles signed at London, or to accept the exchange proposed by his Majesty. In the latter case, his Majesty would promote, by every means in his power, the settlement of the business relating to the ranom of Nevis, to the satisfaction of Great Britain.

Thirdly. As one of the chief advantages of the peace will be, if it pleases God, the good understanding, which the King proposes to establish between his subjects and those of the Queen of Great Britain, every thing that can disturb that happy union should be removed; experience has too well proved, how impossible it was to preserve it, in places inhabited in common by French and English; this reason alone would, therefore, be sufficient to prevent his Majesty's consent to the proposal of permitting the English to possess Cap Breton with the French. But a consideration of still greater importance may be urged against the proposition, and as it too often occurs, that nations, the most friendly to each other, become enemies, it is a point of prudence that the King should retain possession of the only island, that can in future keep the River St. Lawrence open to him. It would be absolutely shut to his ships, if, while the English are masters of Acadia and Newfoundland, they should also be in possession of Cap Breton in common with the French, and Canada would be lost to France, as soon as any event should occur, to

rekindle the war between the two nations, which God long forbid ! But the surest method to prevent it, is frequently to call to mind that it may happen.

Fourthly. We shall not dissemble that it is for the same reason, the King will reserve to himself the liberty, natural and general among all sovereigns, to erect, in the islands of the Gulph and River of St. Lawrence, as well as in Cap Breton, such fortifications as his Majesty shall judge necessary. These works, intended solely for the security of the country, can never be of prejudice to the neighbouring islands and provinces. It is just, that the Queen of Great Britain should have the same liberty of fortifying, where she may judge it necessary, whether in Acadia or in Newfoundland ; and upon this article the King does not pretend to demand any thing contrary to the rights, which property and possession naturally give to that Princess.

Fifthly. From his particular regard for the Queen of Great Britain, the King will leave to her the artillery and ammunition in the forts and places in Hudson's Bay and Straits, notwithstanding the urgent reasons his Majesty has to withdraw them, and to appropriate them elsewhere.

Article of Commerce.

AS the King is sincerely desirous that every cause of discontent, between his Majesty and the Queen of Great Britain, should be at an end as soon as possible, it would be very agreeable to him, to see a conclusion of all disputes, between his Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht and those of England, upon the subject of commerce ; but if it be impossible, that all the difficulties upon this head can be removed, before the conclusion of the peace, rather than retard it, his Majesty consents to two demands, made in the name of that Princess :

First. To name commissioners, to meet at London, to examine and regulate the duties and imposts to be paid in each kingdom.

Secondly. That France and England do mutually agree to grant to the subjects of either Crown the same privileges and advantages granted to any foreign nation whatever.

Article

Article concerning the Suspension of Arms.

SO short a period as two months, would continue to the enemies of the peace, the hope of being able still to harass the negociation before the end of the campaign. The King, convinced of her Majesty's good intentions, thinks it would be of advantage to both, if the term were extended to four months.

First. It should be sufficient to complete the settlement of all difficulties in the treaty, the principal one being already done away, by the firm resolution made by the King of Spain, to renounce for himself and his descendants, the Crown of France, and to keep Spain and the Indies, and this renunciation to be inserted in the treaty of peace.

Secondly. After having restored the regular course of the negociation, on the basis of good faith and mutual confidence, the good effects of which are now apparent, all distrust and even semblance of suspicion must be done away, when we draw nearer the object, which both sides wish to attain. The King submits it to the Queen's candour, to judge, if the demand to garrison Dunkirk with English garrison troops, during the suspension of arms, be not offensive to his Majesty, and if the public would not regard the proposition as implying a doubt of his Majesty's exactness in fulfilling his promises? He knows that the Queen of Great Britain is far from entertaining such a thought, having received too many proofs to the contrary; on that account, and the King having long looked upon her as a friend, notwithstanding the continuance of the war, he is persuaded, that she will desist from a demand, not only useless, but productive of an effect very opposite to her Majesty's intentions. For it is certain, that her object is to oblige the Dutch to give the King, directly, an equivalent for the fortifications of Dunkirk, which his Majesty has promised to demolish. Their obstinacy is to be overcome, and they must be made to see, that if they persist, the loss will fall upon them; but it will be no threat to tell them, that the English troops shall keep possession of Dunkirk, its citadel, and forts, until the States-General have given the King an equivalent to his satisfaction. Her Majesty would alone bear the uneasiness of all the new objections, which they would raise against the peace; and that republic can only be made more pliant, by methods

P p 3

quite

quite different. As the King's intention is really to accelerate the demolition of Dunkirk in general, his Majesty proposes, that immediately after the signing the treaty of peace with the Queen of Great Britain, a detachment of English troops should encamp before Dunkirk, and that those troops, of which the number shall be fixed, should work conjointly with his Majesty's, to raze all the fortifications. The condition of filling up the port, and of destroying the sluices, is dependent, as the King has explained, upon the restoration of Tournay and the Tournesis, as his Majesty has demanded. He renews the same engagement. The destruction of the sluices will prove that of the country about Dunkirk, where friends and enemies will equally suffer. The King could wish to be excused this useless desolation, which the Queen of Great Britain has perhaps not sufficiently considered. His Majesty is desirous that it should be again submitted to her, although he is resolved, in respect to this article, to do whatever is most agreeable to that Princess, on account of the restitution of Tournay and the Tournesis.

Thirdly. The peace is become necessary for all Europe; the King desires it as a general good, and his Majesty looks upon the suspension of arms, as a means almost necessary for its attainment. But he would refuse this suspension, he would even break off the negotiation of peace, if either depended upon the admission of a Dutch garrison into Cambray, for any interval of time whatever. He will never consent to a proposition so derogatory from his honour, his interest, and the welfare of his kingdom.

DE TORCY.

Marli, June 10th, 1712.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 364.)

S I R,

Whitehall, June 6th. O.S. 1712.

I SEND you back La Vigne, who brought me your's of the 8th instant, N.S. in which you take notice, that King Philip chose the first proposition; that is to say, to retain Spain and the Indies, and to renounce, by the peace, for himself and his descendants, his rights to the Crown of France.

I have

I have also received your's of the 10th instant, in reply to mine of the 24th of last month, O.S.

The Queen, Sir, has ordered me to inform you, that though your last memorial has not, as she expected, answered the demands I made, yet her Majesty this day met her Parliament, and made every necessary declaration, to forward the unanimous vote of this nation for the peace, and to deprive those of the power of counteracting the conclusion of our great work, who are so disposed.

The Queen did not mention the suspension of arms, to the two Houses; but she has ordered me to write to you upon it, and to inform you of the reasons for her resolutions.

The commencement, and the progress of this negotiation, have been founded on the good faith of both parties; the Queen's entire dependance is upon that of the King; and her Majesty is confident she has given proofs of her's, and is ready to give others, but there are certain cases, in which, even between the nearest relatives and most intimate friends, prudence requires the most scrupulous precaution.

The expedient to prevent the reunion of the two monarchies of France and Spain, is the most important point of our negotiation, and her Majesty would give up all those that have been agreed upon, rather than leave it uncertain. She is responsible for it to her people, to her allies, to the present age, and to posterity.

Upon this ground, Sir, the Queen hopes that his Most Christian Majesty will find nothing offensive in the demands, which she feels herself bound to renew, and which are contained in the subjoined memorial.

I dispatch a messenger to the Duke of Ormond, with a copy of what I have the honour to communicate to you. In case the King thinks proper to grant what the Queen requires, you need only sign these articles, and send them to that General, who, at the same time that he takes possession of Dunkirk, will declare to the allies, his order to act no longer against France.

The Earl of Strafford will set out from hence the beginning of next week, on his return to Utrecht; the instructions he carries with him, will enable the Queen's Plenipotentiaries to recede from all the measures, to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit. They may, in future, openly unite with those of his Most Christian Ma-

jefty, to give law to those, who will not submit to just and reasonable terms. This they will certainly do, and by such means, we may, in a little time, get to the end of our labours.

I shall dispatch another messenger to you, when the Earl of Strafford leaves the court, to inform you of the nature of his orders, I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

I make no doubt that the peace may be made nearly upon the plan brought by the Abbé Gautier.

Articles proposed by her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, for a Suspension of Arms between the Armies now in the Netherlands. (Page 366.)

ARTICLE I. The Queen will consent to a suspension of arms for two months, which may be extended to three or four.

II. During this suspension, endeavours shall be made, to conclude the treaty of general peace, at least, the article which respects the reunion of the two monarchies, shall be punctually executed, that is to say, King Philip shall in that time renounce, in all due forms, for himself and his descendants, the Crown of France. This renunciation shall be accepted by the Most Christian King, and ratified, in the most solemn manner, by the States of the kingdom of France. The succession to the said Crown, shall be declared and adjudged, after the Dauphin and his descendants, to the Duke of Berry and his descendants, and successively to the other Princes of the House of Bourbon, to the absolute exclusion of King Philip and his.

The Dukes of Berry and Orleans shall, for themselves and their children, renounce all right to the Crown of Spain; the States of that kingdom shall accept and consent to such renunciation, in the manner agreed upon.

All parties above-mentioned shall agree, by authentic instruments, to acknowledge the Prince who is to be named in the future treaty of peace, as successor to the Crown of Spain after King Philip and his descendants.

III. The French garrison shall march out of the town and citadel of Dunkirk and the adjacent forts, and the Queen's troops shall enter them, on the day the suspension takes place; and that town shall remain in the Queen's hands,

hands, until the States-General consent to give his Most Christian Majesty an equivalent for the demolition of that place, with which he may be satisfied. It being well understood that, in this case, his Most Christian Majesty shall be obliged to demolish all the fortifications of that place, to fill up the harbour, and to ruin the sluices, in the manner in which the Queen's Plenipotentiaries have demanded.

IV. As the Queen's demands have no other object than to obtain a pledge, to secure the execution of the article which regards the reunion of the two monarchies, her Majesty does not pretend to interfere with, or to molest, the civil government of the town of Dunkirk; but, on the contrary, she directs me to promise, on her part, that she will give all necessary orders that all things may remain, and be upon the same foot as they are now; that vessels belonging to the King, or to individuals, shall have the liberty to enter and depart the port, as often as they shall find it convenient, without impediment, upon any pretext whatever; and that the vessels belonging to the King, or to private persons, and all their effects, shall be in as great security as at present.

H. ST. JOHN

Whitehall, June 6, O.S. 1712.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 385.)

S I R,

Marli, June 22d, 1712.

BY your messenger, I yesterday received the honour of your letter of the 6th inst. O.S. and the memorial, containing the articles proposed by the Queen of Great Britain, for a suspension of arms between the armies now in the Netherlands.

I read to the King both the memorial and your letter, and I assure you, Sir, it requires all the consideration, and all the regard which his Majesty entertains for the Queen's demand, to induce him to consent to the article about Dunkirk, in the manner you persist to require it; but there is no resisting a Princess, who so resolutely declares her sentiments for the re-establishment of the general repose of Europe; and though you remark, with great propriety, that there are cases, in which prudence requires of us to observe the most scrupulous precaution,
between

between the nearest relatives and most intimate friends ; yet this maxim, so wise and just, gives way to the sincere wishes of the King, to oblige a Princess, whom he cannot, as yet, publicly treat as a friend, though he entertains towards her those sentiments, which the strictest friendship inspires, superior to the ties of blood. On this account, Sir, the King consents to withdraw his troops from the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, to permit the Queen's forces to succeed them, on the day the suspension of arms takes place, and to leave Dunkirk in the Queen's possession, until the States-General consent to give the King an equivalent for the demolition of that place, to the satisfaction of his Majesty.

In a word, he approves of the rest of the third article, and of the fourth, in your memorial, which relate to Dunkirk. He only directs me to add, that the French officers, employed in the care of the magazines, as well for land as for sea service, shall remain in the town, and shall continue in their employ, during the stay of the English troops. This clause is a consequence of the Queen's promise to leave every thing upon the same foot as it now stands, and to grant a perfect security for the King's ships, and those of private persons, and for their effects ; his Majesty, therefore, is confident that he proposes nothing new, by a small extension of this article.

As he is of opinion, that he can give the Queen no stronger proof of his absolute confidence, his Majesty declares to her, that the effects of a negociation, now brought to a happy conclusion, would be lost, were the clause in the second article insisted upon, which states that the renunciation of the King of Spain, for himself and his descendants, to the Crown of France, shall be ratified by the States of the kingdom. The States of France do not interfere about the succession to the Crown ; they have neither the power to make laws, nor to repeal them. When the Kings convoke them, it is expressed in the summons, that their business is to hear the complaints of his good and faithful subjects, and to redress existing grievances.

The example of former times, has shown that such assemblies have always been productive of troubles in the kingdom ; and the last meeting of the States, held in 1614, finished with a civil war. As he thinks he is certain of the Queen's real intentions, his Majesty is persuaded that her sole object is to secure the renunciation, and that, consequently,

frequently, it will be sufficient to point out a method, more conformable to our customs, and which will not be attended with the inconvenience of assembling the States, who, not having been convoked for nearly a century, are in some measure abolished.

This security will be, to publish and enroll, in all the Parliaments of the kingdom, the King of Spain's renunciation, for himself and his descendants, to the Crown of France. Edicts and declarations, sanctioned by these forms, become laws; the French are accustomed to this practice; it is used with respect to treaties with foreign powers; and the King's intention is, in the mean time, to withdraw from the registers of the Parliament, the letters-patent, which the King executed in favour of the King of Spain, to preserve to him his right of birth, when he left France to repair to Madrid. The revocation and abolition of these letters, will be a consequence of, and a sort of confirmation to the renunciation which this Prince is to execute, of his right to the Crown of France, for himself and his descendants.

Such, Sir, are the only addition and alteration which the King wished to make in your memorial; the former consists in the continuance of all officers at Dunkirk, entrusted with the care of the magazines for sea and land service, and I am certain it will occasion no difficulty. The latter refers to the assembly of the States; permit me to say, that it would be equally prejudicial to the King's authority, to the quiet of the kingdom, to the welfare even of the general peace, which we both have in view, to accept a proposition liable to a thousand inconveniences, too long to be explained; and that there is reason to believe, that when the assembly of the States was required, the inutility of such a precaution, and the mischiefs likely to happen from it, were unknown.

The King sends to Marechal de Villars, a copy of your memorial, and of the answer to it; and as his Majesty grants the substance of the Queen's demands, he doubts not the Duke of Ormond will execute the orders he has received in regard to the suspension. He reckons, also, that the Duke, declaring he has orders to cease to act against France, will prevent not only the English, but all the foreign troops under his command, from acting; and that measures will be taken, in such a manner, as that the Dutch will not be able, as they at present boast they shall,

shall, to take into their pay, those troops which are now paid by the Queen.

I hope, Sir, that when you receive the letter I have now the honour to write, nothing will delay the departure of the Earl of Strafford; and that you will give him all necessary instructions to unite with the King's Plenipotentiaries, so that they may jointly give the law to those, who shall reject just and reasonable terms of peace. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 391.)

S I R,

Marli, June 22nd, 1712.

BY my other letter, you will see how far the King carries his confidence in her Majesty; examine, I entreat you, not as a British Minister, but as one of another country, what a concession it is for France to give up Dunkirk to the English, before the peace is settled, and without any other assurance than her Britannic Majesty's word; the King is convinced of its inviolability, and his Majesty gives a real and evident proof that such is his opinion. But, again, Sir, permit me to ask you, if, had you been neither an Englishman, nor in the situation you hold, you would have advised such a measure?

I hope, however, that peace will be the consequence of the King's determination, and a peace alike honourable to the Queen and the nation. I see no other impediment to it, than what I am convinced you will easily surmount; for it is certain that the assembling of the States, at present not customary in France, would be of no use to your purpose; it would only tend to retard the peace, not only on account of the time it would take to call and hold such kind of meetings, but also on account of the disturbances they might produce, as the examples of times past, too well inform us. It is prudent to avoid delay and embarrassments, when we can, by shorter methods, do the same thing, and with greater certainty. Nothing is of greater authority here, than the inrollment which the King proposes, and especially when all the powers, interested in the treaty of peace, will be guarantees to the renunciations required by you, and promised by the King.

I expect, then, to hear, by the return of the messenger,

that the Queen, satisfied with what the King will grant, will be equally so with the method he proposes to secure the validity of the renunciations, and to render them solemn and effective, according to our usages.

I have the honour to send you a letter from his Majesty, and refer you to the Abbé Gaultier, with respect to the departure of the Chevalier. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

Copy of a Letter in the King's own Hand to the Queen of Great Britain. (Page 393.)

MADAM AND SISTER,

Marli, June 22nd. 1712.

I GRANT that to you, which I should never have granted to the importunities of any one, but I am happy to furnish you with new methods to forward the work of peace; and I desire, at the same time, to show to the world, the entire confidence I place in you. I can give you no clearer proof of it, than to commit the care of my town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk to you, during the suspension of arms.

I hope this mark of my esteem and friendship for you, added to the renunciation of the King of Spain, for himself and his descendants, of all his rights to my Crown, will complete that perfect union, which it is my wish always to support with you, being very truly,

Madam and Sister, your good Brother,

LOUIS.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 394.)

SIR,

Marli, June 27th, 1712.

AT the time I dispatched the messenger, who will have given you my letter of the 22d inst. another messenger was sent off to the Marechal de Villars, to carry to him, as I mentioned to you, the copy of the memorial, and of the answers I gave you by the King's order.

The Marechal having communicated them to the Duke of Ormond, that General replied, the 25th inst. that he was on the point of going to Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States-General, being obliged throughout

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to keep terms with them; that he would endeavour to prevail upon them to desist from the enterprize upon Quefnoy, and that he would declare to them, in case of refusal, that he should be obliged to withdraw the army of the Queen of Great Britain. The Duke of Ormond added, that on the following day, he should send a detachment to take possession of Dunkirk, and that the suspension should take place in conformity with the third article of your memorial. He required a formal order to the Governor; and concluded with a promise to make known the final resolves of Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States-General, as soon as he should be acquainted with them.

The King's orders had been sent to admit the English troops into Dunkirk, when his Majesty received, from Marechal de Villars, the copy of a second letter from the Duke of Ormond, dated as the first, the 25th. He writes, that he was returned from a conference with Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States-General; but that these gentlemen did not relish the proposals he had made to them; that he had some reason to fear that the Generals of the auxiliary forces in the army of the Queen of Great Britain, though paid by her Majesty, will make some difficulty in leaving Prince Eugene's army, without particular orders from their masters, and notwithstanding so material a difference in the principal article of your memorial, the Duke of Ormond still persists to require the surrender of Dunkirk to the General, dispatched by him to take possession of it.

As soon as the King saw this letter, his Majesty ordered me to send off a messenger to you, and to recall to your mind only the title of the last memorial sent to me; it states that the articles it contains, are proposed by the Queen of Great Britain, for a suspension of arms, between the armies now in the Netherlands, that upon a prospect of such a suspension, her Majesty demands the custody of a place as important as that of Dunkirk, to be committed to her. Upon the same condition, the King is willing to entrust it to her Britannic Majesty; the cause of the demand, and that of the consent, is their mutual wish that no occurrence between the armies, should disturb that disposition, for the conclusion of a good peace, which both parties have shown. To attain this object, the suspension must be general, and if those, who are hostile to
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the peace, have the power, the means, and the liberty of acting, the condition upon which the King gives up Dunkirk to the Queen of England, is not fulfilled on the part of her Britannic Majesty.

Should you reply, Sir, that she is not mistress of the will of her allies, I will agree with you, that we see too much of their ingratitude towards her, and the little regard they pay to her opinions; and on this account the King does not pretend that she should guarantee the resolutions, either of Prince Eugene or of the States-General: but his Majesty has always had ground to believe that the Queen of Great Britain could dispose at least of the troops which compose her army, and had this opinion been capable of the least uncertainty, the Duke of Ormond should have removed all doubts, by promising, as he does in his first letter, to declare, that in case of refusal, he should be obliged to withdraw, with the army of the Queen his mistress. This army, according to the accounts which the Dutch have printed, and signed by you, Sir, consists of 65 battalions, and 94 squadrons. The King, therefore, has reason to believe, that all these forces will absolutely obey the Duke of Ormond's orders.

His Majesty might insist that the condition of giving up Dunkirk to the English troops, is attached to that of a general suspension between all the armies of the Netherlands. But he will extend his consideration for the Queen of Great Britain, so far as to be satisfied, if the troops, which, according to your own statement, compose the army of that Princess, obey her Majesty's orders as punctually as the national troops of England, and all unanimously observe the suspension.

If the Duke of Ormond confines the army he commands to the English troops only, in that case, Sir, I really believe that Prince Eugene, paying less attention to the valour, than to the number of the battalions, would comfort himself for the separation of the British army, and remaining sole Commander of a large body of troops, would hazard every thing to come to an action; for the sacrifice of men whom he does not pay, and who would only serve under him for the remainder of the campaign, would be of small importance to him.

Consider, if you please, the consequence we must expect from this, with regard to the peace, and judge if it agrees with all the Queen's proceedings hitherto, to forward

ward it. The King is convinced that her Majesty, without loss of time, will send very clear and positive orders to the Duke of Ormond, to withdraw, in general, all the troops in her Britannic Majesty's pay, and which compose the army actually under his command in Flanders; as soon as these orders are executed, and the British troops, with those in British pay, shall separate and march away from the army of Prince Eugene, the King will, according to his promise, order the town, citadel, and forts, of Dunkirk, to be given up to the forces of the Queen of Great Britain, agreeable to the answer I made, by the King's order, to the third article of your memorial.

You see, Sir, how valuable our time is, when the siege of Queboy may be productive of some unlucky accident; for it seems our adversaries mean to press it vigorously, ever since they heard the Duke of Ormond's declaration. I therefore hope the Queen will give all necessary orders to finish what she has so auspiciously begun, and that she will be convinced, that the plan for a suspension of arms would suffer a total change, if it were confined to the national troops of England only, after having agreed that it should be between the armies in the Netherlands. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 400.)

SIR,

Whitehall, June 20th, 1712.

ON the 14th inst. O.S. la Vigne brought me your dispatches of the 22d, N.S. and I waited only for the Duke of Ormond's letters to reply to you: these letters arrived this morning, and at the same time your messenger gave me, that which you did me the honour to write the 27th instant. The account the Duke of Ormond gives of what has passed, agrees entirely with yours, and I read all these dispatches to the Queen. Her Majesty, Sir, orders me to inform you, that she sees, with extreme concern, the enemies to the peace still find means to retard it, by subjecting the negociation, which must lead to it, to additional difficulties and new dangers; but as her Majesty has firmly, and unalterably resolved, never to yield to obstacles that may be thrown in her way, and, on the contrary,

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to unite with the King in effecting the restoration of general tranquillity, she entertains no doubt of our ability to render insufficient the last effort of those who would purchase their own advantage, or gratify their private resentment, at the price of lengthening out all the miseries of the war. And I believe, after you have finished reading my letter, you will be convinced of this truth.

I have this moment, by the Queen's command, spoken to all the Ministers, now here, of the Princes, whose troops are either in the pay of her Majesty entirely, or in her pay conjointly with that of the States. I have told them, in the Queen's name, that she will look upon the conduct of their commanders, at this crisis, as a declaration of the Princes their masters, either for or against her; as the question is, whether they will pursue the plan which the Queen has formed to secure the peace, or that which the Emperor and the States-General have concerted to break off the treaty? That her Majesty could not be persuaded, that after reflecting upon it, their Generals should hesitate a moment to obey the orders of the Duke of Ormond; but I declared to them, that in case they did so, her Majesty would no longer provide pay for their troops.

I gave them to understand that the messenger, whom I dispatched this evening to the army, will convey such letters, as they may think proper to write to their General Officers on that subject, and that it was high time for their decision: as the Duke of Ormond would, by the same conveyance, receive the Queen's orders, not only to make the same declarations, but, in case they refuse to obey him, to put those declarations in force.

The Queen, Sir, is persuaded that such a proceeding can scarce fail of its due effect; but she orders me, in the mean time, to communicate a resolution she has formed, in case some of the troops persist in remaining with the army of Prince Eugene: in this case, the Duke of Ormond will withdraw with the English forces, and all such as may be willing to march with him, which probably will not be the smallest portion, and will declare that the Queen will no longer act against France, nor pay those who do so. And that her Majesty, who hitherto has kept upon terms with her allies, being driven by them to such extremities, will think herself justified before God and man, to continue the negotiation, either at Utrecht, or any where else, without giving herself any concern, whether they concur or not.

VOL. II.

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Thus.

Thus, Sir, you may depend, and I am commanded to promise you in the Queen's name, that if the Most Christian King places the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk into her Majesty's keeping, though all the foreign troops, or a part of them, refuse to obey the orders of the Duke of Ormond, and to retire with him, her Majesty will no longer hesitate to conclude her own peace; leaving for the other powers, a term, during which they may submit to the conditions of a plan, which the Queen will agree upon with his Most Christian Majesty. Thus, Sir, is the peace in the King's hands; if the whole army of the Duke of Ormond consents to the suspension of arms, the first project agreed upon will be effected; if this is not the case, the English forces will detach themselves from those of the allies, and the foreign troops will have to demand subsistence of the States-General, who, far from having it in their power to answer any new expences, are not able to support those they have already incurred. In a word, Great Britain withdraws herself from the theatre of war, leaving behind her only a few powers, and those little able to make head against France; and the peace between these kingdoms may be concluded in very few weeks. These are, Sir, the propositions, which the Queen orders me to make to you, and she judges that his Most Christian Majesty will find his account, at least as much in the last plan, as in the first.

If the King accepts them, it appears to her Majesty proper, for the interests of both nations, to settle, immediately, a general suspension, as well by sea as by land, between Great Britain and France, to follow that agreed upon in the Netherlands.

I shall wait, with impatience, the return of this messenger; for I agree with you, that in a crisis like the present, every moment is precious. You will please to dispatch, at the same time, an express to the Duke of Ormond, that he may know what to depend upon, and how to regulate his conduct. If you inform him, that the King has ordered the Commanding Officer at Dunkirk, to let the Queen's forces enter, the Duke will immediately do as I have mentioned; and in this case, her Majesty will detach a few regiments from hence, to take possession of the place, by which means we shall avoid many obstacles that may be thrown in our way, if it were done by a detachment

achment from the army of the Duke of Ormond, as we at first intended.

Since I wrote the above, her Majesty has determined to send the Earl of Strafford direct to the army; and he sets off to-morrow evening, or, at the latest, on Sunday morning. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 407.)

SIR,

Marli, July 5th, 1712.

I RECEIVED, by La Vigne, the honour of your letter of 20th June, O.S. and as you wait his return with impatience, knowing how valuable our time is at the present crisis, the King orders me not to lose an instant in sending him back.

You will not be sorry to see him again, for he conveys his Majesty's general consent to the Queen's demands, as explained in your last letter. You state, Sir, the orders given to the Duke of Ormond, the declarations he is to make, and the conduct he is to observe in withdrawing with the English forces, and all those who may be willing to march with him, provided the King gives up the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk into the Queen's hands, although all the foreign troops in her pay, or in the joint-pay of her Majesty and the States-General, or only a part of these troops, should separate from the English, to remain under the orders of Prince Eugene.

My last letter mentioned the just reasons why the King might insist that all the foreign forces, in English pay, should follow the orders and motions of the Duke of Ormond, as a condition necessary for the execution of the promise, which the King made to the Queen, to put Dunkirk into her hands; but as it appears by your letter, that her Britannic Majesty, in case of refusal on the part of her allies, will no longer keep upon terms with them, that she shall think herself justified, both to God and man, that she will no longer hesitate to conclude her own peace, leaving a term for the other powers interested in the war, to submit to the conditions of a plan, which she will concert with the King, that this peace may be settled in a few weeks; and, last of all, that Great Britain, enjoying a glorious peace, will leave the weight of the war to those powers

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who still preserve their ill-will to France, but who will then be little able to make head against her. All these reasons, as clearly explained in your letter, as they are conformable to his Majesty's sentiments, have determined him to give orders for the entrance of the Queen's forces into Dunkirk.

The messenger, intrusted with the same orders, sets off to deliver them to the Marechal de Villars, at the same time as I dispatch La Vigne; and you may reckon that the Duke of Ormond will gain intelligence of it to-morrow, 6th instant.

I hope the Earl of Strafford will be then with him, and that the conclusion of a good peace, at least between France and Great Britain, will directly follow his arrival at Utrecht. I congratulate with you upon it, Sir, and I do it with the greater confidence, as I see, by your letter, that no more difficulties now remain.

The King much approves of your proposition, to agree immediately to a general cessation of hostilities between the two nations, as well by sea as by land. We cannot too soon procure the happiness of peace for those people, who have, for so many years, suffered the burden and misery of the war. It seems to me that this agreement should be signed at Utrecht, and I depend upon your sending the Queen's orders to her Plenipotentiaries, unless you think of some speedier method of terminating this business. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To Monsieur Marschalch. (Page 414.)

Whitehall, June 27th, O.S. 1712.

SO much business has been created for us of late, my dear Sir, that it would be no wonder, if a man of abilities superior to mine, should be under the necessity to excuse himself to his most intimate friends and correspondents, for having neglected to write to them. For my own part, I depend so much upon the goodness you have ever shown towards me, that I doubt not your forgiveness.

We are now at the period which I have often foretold to you. The Imperial and Dutch Ministers, in spite of all that could be urged to them, still flattering themselves, that they had only to continue their opposition to the Queen, and their intrigues with the party here, to force

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us to an alteration of conduct, and to give up to them the absolute power of making war or peace in their own way, and at our expence, have at last driven the Queen to extremity. She is still willing to live with them as good allies ought to do; but she is resolved to be trifled with no longer. She pursues a straight course for peace; those who concur with her will be sure to experience all the satisfaction they hope for; those who are desirous of war, run the hazard of bringing a load upon their shoulders which they are not able to stand under.

The great politicians in Holland, imagined they had made a masterly hit, when they found means to persuade our foreign troops to disobey the Duke of Ormond, and, consequently, to prevent our taking possession of Dunkirk: but they are mistaken; Dunkirk will be in the Queen's hands, the troops that disobeyed our orders will no longer receive our pay, and the States-General must find funds for their subsistence. After that, Sir, I must tell you, and indeed by the Queen's command, that the King may be assured, that she will support his interest, as she does her own; and that there is no reason to doubt the peace will be satisfactory to him; in return, the Queen hopes his Majesty will give peremptory orders to the Prince of Anhalt, to withdraw from Prince Eugene and the Dutch General, in their opposition to the Duke of Ormond. As it is possible the Duke of Savoy will follow the plan of Great Britain, it would be proper that your Commander in Italy should have secret instructions to regulate his conduct by that of this Prince, and obey him generally in every thing. Mr. Breton will address himself to you conformable to what I write. Let your dispatches, if you please, be to the same effect, and be assured the King will have every reason to be satisfied with our proceeding. As to affairs in the north, I will speak to you in a post or two. Adieu, my dear friend. I am, &c.

To Monsieur Marschallb. (Page 412.)

Whitehall, July 9th, O.S. 1712.

I OWN, my dear Sir, the Queen will be greatly surprised to find his Prussian Majesty can hope to find his account in siding with the powers, who pretend to undertake what they are not in a condition to perform, rather than in continuing firmly united to a Princess, who has it in her power to accomplish her intentions, all of which are conformable to the views of the King your master.

You know, Sir, as well as I, that the dispute has never been, whether we should have a peace or not, much less what should be the conditions upon which it should be made: the only object of the Imperialists and the Dutch, in joining with the factious part of her subjects, has been to oblige her Majesty to prosecute a war, particularly burdensome and unequal to Great Britain, and after that, to enter upon a new negotiation with France, in the course of which her Majesty might certainly have the honour to treat under their auspices, but would have no vote in their councils.

They have pursued this excellent plan, with such obstinacy, that a schism has been formed among the allies, and this great advantage has been given to the enemy, rather than consent to the Queen's conducting the negotiation, or to her subjects gaining some remuneration by the peace, for all they have suffered during the war. So situated, what could our mistress do? She has induced France to make such overtures, as demonstrate plain enough, that if we will treat, *bona fide*, all the allies shall have just and reasonable satisfaction; it is therefore solely dependent upon them to renew the conferences at Utrecht upon this plan, to keep themselves closely united with the Queen, who certainly has not less influence when she has Dunkirk in her possession,

In regard to the interest of the King your master, I have the Queen's commands to say, and Mr. Breton will repeat the same assurances to his Prussian Majesty, that the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain will second you in all your demands; and as the Ministers of France have asserted that they only waited for her Majesty's solemn declaration for the attainment of your wishes, you should consider them as already obtained,

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In God's name, Sir, endeavour to draw together with us. If the King sides with her Majesty, unanimity will be immediately restored among the allies, as the inflexible temper of the States was the only cause of the disagreement. But no one can answer for the consequences of the King's declaring against her Majesty's measures. The campaign, you will tell me, may be carried on without the Queen's assistance; in Flanders, I grant you, it may; but think a little of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and above all, reflect upon the means of continuing another campaign, without the annual contribution of seven millions from Great Britain.

The King of France, though an enemy, has entrusted to the Queen a place of such importance as Dunkirk, without either agreement or treaty. Shall it then be said, that the King of Prussia will not confide in promises so frequently repeated, and in that good faith which he experienced during so many years? A messenger will carry my dispatches to my friend Breton, assist him with your knowledge upon the subject, second his importunities by yours, and depend upon it; the question is either to secure a good and honourable peace, or to plunge Europe into new misfortunes, probably worse than those she has just gone through.

Adieu; in my haste I write without a cypher, and this letter will be delivered to you by the Queen's messenger, on his way to Berlin. I am, &c.

To Monsieur Marschalch. (Page 424.)

Whitehall. July 12th, O.S. 1712.

IN my last letter, my dear Sir, I tried to induce you to prevent those inconveniences which I foresaw would occur, in case the King your master should abandon the Queen, who only demands a reasonable peace, the sole object of the war, to attach himself to those who wish to play a part which they cannot support. Since then, her Majesty has seen, with regret, by the Duke of Ormond's letters of the 17th instant, N.S. that the Prussian troops were the first to leave the British army, to follow Prince Eugene, who has not even condescended to communicate to the Queen's General, to what place he directed his march, or what design he had in view. I fear the honours acquired by the Prince of Anhalt, at the siege of Landrecy, will be no re-

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compence for the misfortunes which the common cause will suffer from his improper proceeding, by contributing to offer her Majesty that gross affront which I have just mentioned. Her Majesty will make no complaints; Mr. Breton has only orders to suppress the contents of my last letter, which was full of the Queen's assurances to the King your master. I believe we shall set to work to avert our consequence by our arms where friendship and good-will have proved ineffectual. I say nothing to you about affairs in the north, what occurred in Flanders, within a few days, totally changes our system. But, as a sincere friend, I will confide to you my opinion, which is, that the Queen will, in those parts, speak through the medium of her Admiral. You have just rid us of a terrible expence, which was extremely oppressive to us; a share of what we shall save will be applied to our navy. Adieu, dear friend.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 427.)

SIR,

Fontainebleau, July 19th, 1712.

BEFORE you receive the letter, which I have the honour to write you by the King's order, you will have been informed of the Duke of Ormond's declaration to his army of a cessation of arms between France and Great Britain, of his march, and of the refusal of the Commanders of the auxiliary forces, whether in the pay of the Queen alone, or of her and the States, to join the English troops, and to follow him.

I make no doubt you have also received the news of the entry of the British battalions into Dunkirk, pursuant to the King's orders for their reception. Thus, Sir, his Majesty and the Queen having accomplished the primary proceedings for the attainment of peace, and your allies having clearly declared in their answers, and confirmed by their late conduct, the part they mean to take in the continuance of the war, it only remains for us to conclude a peace between France and Great Britain, in a few weeks, as you state in your letter of the 20th of June.

The Duke of Ormond has already executed the Queen's engagement, by retiring, though with the British forces only, and declaring he shall no longer act against France, nor pay those who do not follow his example.

You informed me, Sir, that her Majesty seeing herself driven by her allies to such extremities, would no longer
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hesitate to conclude her own peace, stipulating a term for the other powers engaged in the war, to submit to the conditions of a plan which she would agree upon with the King. The execution of that promise is now our business, and it seems an object of no difficulty, since all articles of a peace with England are settled, and the King's intentions, in regard to a general peace, are known to, and, I believe, I may say, approved of by her Britannic Majesty.

I will say nothing, Sir, to awaken her resentment upon the conduct of her allies. Their ill-will and bad designs against the Queen, are sufficiently evident; instead of rousing the spirit of war and discord, I could wish to inspire those with the love of peace, who are now using their utmost endeavours to obstruct it. But as nothing will contribute more to the restoration of general tranquillity, in spite of their opposition, than to fix and secure, in a substantial manner, what has hitherto been agreed upon between France and Great Britain, the King has already sent orders to his Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to settle an immediate and general suspension, as well by sea as by land, and to sign it with the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain.

His Majesty judges it proper to follow the tenour of the treaty of Ryswick, in ascertaining the terms of the suspension by sea; consequently vessels, merchandise, and effects, taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after twelve days, to be computed from the signing and publication of the suspension, shall be on both sides reciprocally restored. For prizes taken from the Channel, the seas surrounding the British Isles and the North Seas, to Cape St. Vincent, the term shall be six weeks. From and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether in the Atlantic, or in the Mediterranean, ten weeks. Finally, beyond the Line, and in all other parts of the world, without exception or farther distinction of time or place, six months.

While the suspension by sea is regulating and signing, we might, Sir, for the mutual benefit of the French and the English, give passports for the security of trade; I need not point out to you the advantage England will gain, both from these passports and the suspension; I will only say, that the King does not regret that the English should enjoy a freedom of commerce undisturbed by any enemy whatever, while his own subjects do not possess the same
advantage,

advantage, as they must guard against the Dutch privateers, in case the suspension is not general.

Although there be grounds to judge, from the conduct observed by the States-General, that they will defer their submission as long as they can, yet the King has ordered and authorised his Plenipotentiaries to agree with them, in concert with the Queen's Ministers, for a suspension of arms by sea and land. In a word, they are empowered to agree for a suspension with all your allies, not only in the name of the King, but also in the name of the King of Spain.

Permit me, Sir, to observe, that while the suspension is in force, whether it be partial or general, it should not allow the transport of troops, ammunition, or provisions, to Portugal, Catalonia, or to any place where the war is at present going on. I consider this reflection as useless, but the having made it can do no harm.

The King farther commands me to propose that her Majesty, without loss of time, should dispatch her orders to Portugal and Catalonia, that the suspension may be there published and observed, between the troops of Great Britain, those of the King of Spain, and the auxiliaries of France. You may even, for greater speed, order the messenger, whom you send off to Catalonia, to pass through France.

I shall wait your answer, Sir, with great impatience, though I doubt not what it may consist of, events having always fulfilled what you have done me the honour to mention to me; but you see how valuable time is, and may now, much easier than ever, foresee the events which may occur in Flanders, since the retreat of your forces.

It seems to me necessary, at this juncture, to facilitate the conveyance of letters, to have a more frequent communication of circumstances, the knowledge of which is essential to both nations. For this purpose we may immediately reinstate the packets from Dover to Calais, as they were before the interdiction of all communication. I take the liberty to tell you, that by this measure, you will derive another advantage for her Britannic Majesty's service. The English mails, dispatched from Ostend to Antwerp, pass through the hands of one Jaupin, of whose attachment to the government of Holland, to Prince Eugene, and, I will add, to your former Commander-in-chief, you are not ignorant. You ought also to know the use he made
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of his management of the mails, at the beginning of the campaign; he proposed to the Post-Master of Rouffielar, to convey them from Ostend to Tournay; because Jaupin, living either in the enemy's army, or in some town in its vicinity, would have a better opportunity to inform himself, and to give an account to Prince Eugene, of the orders you sent to the Duke of Ormond. If you think it necessary to deprive him of all means of information, we may, after the packets are re-established, settle a method of conveying the mails from Calais to Lille, by the way of Dunkirk and Ipres.

I expect every day La Vigne's return, and am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 434.)

SIR,

Whitehall, July 12th, 1712.

ON Thursday the 10th of this month, O.S. we received the news of the entry of the Queen's forces into Dunkirk, and the same day an officer arrived from the army, with letters from the Duke of Ormond of the 17th instant. The Queen then found herself empowered to dispatch her ultimate commands to the Plenipotentiaries, not to lose a moment in concluding the agreement for a general suspension of arms, as well by sea as by land, with the Ministers of his Most Christian Majesty, and even the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France.

The Council sat yesterday, and finished these instructions, when the Abbé Gaultier gave me the letter you did me the honour to write the 19th inst. N.S. from which I learn, with great pleasure, that his Most Christian Majesty's sentiments, and the orders he has given, are conformable to those which the Queen has thought proper to give me in charge. You there repeat what I did myself the honour to write to you in my letter of the 20th ult. and I dare warrant that, on this occasion as on all others, the result will be consonant to the promises I made to you in the Queen's name, and by her order.

It is very true, Sir, the conduct of her allies does not correspond, in any degree, with the obligations they have received, or with those they had reason to expect from the Queen; but, Sir, you agree intirely in opinion with us, when, instead of the spirit of war and discord, you wish to inspire

inspire those with a love of peace, who are now using their utmost endeavours to obstruct it.

There is a kind of frenzy got abroad in the world, - we must prevent those attacked with it from doing us harm; and charity calls upon us, at the same time, to contribute to their cure. Let us begin with the first business, and, preparatory to the restoration of general tranquillity, let us confirm and secure, upon a solid basis, what has been hitherto agreed upon between Great Britain and France.

The Queen consents, Sir, that vessels, merchandise, and effects, taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after the term of twelve days, computed from the signing and publication of the suspension, shall be on both sides, reciprocally restored. That the term of six weeks should be for captures made between the Channel, the Seas surrounding the British Isles, the North Seas, to Cape St. Vincent. Ten weeks from and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether in the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. Finally, the term of six months beyond the Line, and in all other parts of the world, without any other particular exception or distinction, either of time or of place; and that, in the interim, until the suspension by sea is regulated and signed, passports should be granted for the security of trade, and the mutual benefit of the two nations.

The Queen is of opinion, that it would be of use to shorten the term of ten weeks in the Mediterranean, particularly; and the Plenipotentiaries are instructed to propose the term of six weeks, as well for captures made from the Channel, the seas encircling the British Isles, and the North Seas to Cape St. Vincent, as from and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean; but no difference, in this respect, shall stand in the way of the suspension.

Your observation, Sir, respecting the transport of troops, ammunition, and provisions, to Portugal, Catalonia, or to any other place where the war is now carrying on, will admit of no difficulty; the Queen agrees to it, and this article shall, on our part, be performed with the utmost exactness. I must however tell you, that the Queen will not consider it as an infringement of this regulation, if she sends troops or ammunition to Gibraltar, or Port Mahon, or withdraws the Portuguese forces, now serving in Catalonia, to convey them home; or transports the German troops, or others, in the service of the Emperor,

ror, from Spain to Italy; or finally withdraws the British forces, and, in general, every thing belonging to the Queen, to remove them to the Island of Minorca, or even to Great Britain.

I have just mentioned withdrawing the English troops remaining in Catalonia: the Queen's orders are already sent for this purpose; and as her Majesty has resolved not to contribute in the smallest degree to the expences of the war, the suspension will execute itself; and I believe, the Emperor's forces in Catalonia will think themselves sufficiently fortunate to be at liberty to depart from that country, and to be sent home. As the Duke of Argyle, or some other officer, will be directly sent to superintend the execution of these orders, it is evident, that by directing his route to be through France, as we intend to do in five or six days, we shall save much time.

The orders necessary for the suspension of arms in Portugal have been sent off; but as the Minister now here is neither instructed nor empowered to treat upon this business, we must apply to the King of Portugal's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

Of all her allies, there is no one whose interest her Majesty has more at heart than that of the Duke of Savoy; and she hopes the Most Christian King, in concert with her, will neglect nothing to prevail upon his Royal Highness to enter into all our measures, and to secure him from insult on the side of the Imperialists, when he has agreed to our plans.

The disputes existing with regard to this Prince's barrier, are reduced to four heads: the right of garrisoning Monaco, with the absolute dominion over Monton and Rocabruna, the villages beyond the Rhône, Briançon, and Fort Barreau.

The Queen wishes his Most Christian Majesty would show some compliance on these articles, of so little importance to such a power as France, but of so much consequence to his Royal Highness, whose dominions, from the demolition of so many fortresses, are more exposed than ever.

It is neither the interest of Great Britain nor of France, that the kingdom of Sicily should be given to the House of Austria; his Royal Highness is the Prince whom her Majesty wishes to see in possession of that Crown; she cannot give up this demand; she proposes it to his Royal Highness

Highness as a condition for the suspension of arms on the side of Italy, and she acquaints him, that she has ordered me to write to you upon it. The messenger, in his way to Turin, will pass through France, so that any proposition which his Most Christian Majesty may wish to make to his Royal Highness, may accompany those of the Queen.

On the subject of the suspension, nothing more remains for me to say to you, than that the moment it is published in Spain, the Queen demands that the blockade of Gibraltar shall be raised, and that the garrison and merchants there shall have free liberty to live and trade with the Spaniards.

The packets between Dover and Calais shall be directly established. I think they may begin to go next week. You will please to dispatch the necessary orders and passports.

I am well informed of Jaupin's character, and will not fail to unite with you in measures to prevent our letters passing through his hands. In future, those to the Duke of Ormond must be subject to no risque, as that General will probably determine to withdraw towards Dunkirk; in that situation he will want neither Hollanders nor Brabanters; while he remains there, we shall supply the forces with every necessary from hence, and when her Majesty thinks proper to recall them home, it may be done with more convenience from Dunkirk than from any other place.

The Duke of Ormond is directed to concert his march with the Marechal Villars, and to assure him (as I am also ordered to promise you, Sir) that his troops will regularly pay for every thing that may be provided for them by the subjects of France, and that every possible satisfaction shall be given, if by any accident, the slightest injury should be sustained.

When I was upon the subject of the suspension of arms, I forgot to say, the Queen will consent to extend or prolong it, in the manner his Most Christian Majesty shall judge proper; but she hopes, and indeed she entertains no doubt, that the King will fully execute the article which respects the union of the two monarchies, if possible, during the term of two months. The Queen could wish to know what measures have been taken on this subject; you will have the goodness to inform me of them, and to believe that I am, &c.

BOLINGBROKE

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 442.)

Fontainebleau, July 26th, 1712.

THE news from Flanders will inform you, Sir, that the Queen of Great Britain begins to be avenged for the little regard paid by her allies to her wise counsels, and for the refusal of the mercenaries to march with the Duke of Ormond. It were useless to send you the particulars of the attack on the camp at Denain, on the 24th instant, where the Earl of Albemarle was driven in, taken, and his troops entirely defeated by the Marechal de Villars; you will be acquainted with the circumstances before my letter can reach you, so that I shall only have the honour to say, that the King thinks the advantage gained by his forces will be the more agreeable to her Majesty, inasmuch as they afford additional means to conquer the obstinacy of the enemies to the peace; according to our last letters from Holland, their ill-will was stronger than ever. I hope her Britannic Majesty will completely bring them to their senses, by closing immediately with the King upon the ultimate measures to finish the business now so far advanced. She has the means in her own power, if she will make use of Ghent and Bruges, which her troops occupy, and particularly the first; for, in the present crisis, he who is master of that city, can disconcert all the plans of the adverse Generals, and give the law to Holland.

The Queen can also prevent the execution of any project which Count Staremberg may intend on the side of Catalonia, as the British troops are in possession of Terragon. I imagine, Sir, your Commander-in-chief there has orders to retain that town without giving it up to the Germans, and that nothing will occur to dispossess her Majesty of it, until the peace is concluded and ratified.

I wait your answer to the letter I had the honour to write to you, the 19th instant, respecting the suspension by sea and land, to be entered into immediately, between France and England.

The King has been lately informed, that some ships of the squadron under Admiral Jennings, were actually employed in the transport of the troops and horses which the Archduke is conveying from the coast of Genoa to Catalonia. His Majesty is fully persuaded that, in the present posture of affairs, such proceedings are absolutely contrary

to the Queen's intentions, and that, consequently, her Majesty will think it necessary to send immediate orders to stop them. Her messenger, for this purpose, would gain much time by passing through France, which he shall be at free liberty to do, if you are inclined to send him that way.

In fact, Sir, we are so circumstanced, that it should seem expedient to both sides to forward the mutual advantage of both nations; the King, therefore, does not hesitate to propose to her Majesty, to send, by the nearest route, peremptory orders to the British ships appointed to cruize in different parts of the Mediterranean, to permit French ships returning from the Levant, to pass freely, many of them being laden with corn for Provence. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 446.)

Whitehall, July 17th, 1712.

IN the last letter I had the honour to write, I observed to you, Sir, that of all the allies, there was no one whose interest the Queen had more at heart, than that of the Duke of Savoy, and that she hoped the King would, in concert with her, neglect nothing to induce his Royal Highness to enter into our measures, and when entered, to protect him from any insult on the part of the Emperor.

In the same letter I acquainted you, that the differences respecting that Prince's barrier might be reduced to four points; and that the Queen hoped his Most Christian Majesty would manifest more compliance upon articles of so little import to such a power as France, but of such vast consequence to his Royal Highness, whose dominions are more exposed than ever, on account of the destruction of so many fortified places.

I added, that it was neither the interest of Great Britain or of France, to give away the kingdom of Sicily to the House of Austria; that his Royal Highness was the Prince upon whose head the Queen wished to place the crown; that she could not give up this claim; that she proposed it to his Royal Highness, as a condition for the suspension of arms on the side of Italy; that she had given him to understand I had written to you upon it by her orders, and that the messenger would pass through France on his way to Turin, so that such propositions as his Most Christian

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that Majesty might be inclined to make to his Royal Highness, might accompany those made from hence. It is upon this subject I write to you to-day, by the Queen's orders.

It is unnecessary for me to explain all the reasons, that may be urged to show how important it is at this juncture to have the concurrence of the Duke of Savoy, as well in the suspension of arms as in the treaty of peace, both which apparently will be concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain, without the intervention of the other allies. These reasons will not escape you; and her Majesty is convinced, that his Most Christian Majesty will adopt the resolution of securing, without delay, a prince, whose declaration would be a masterly stroke, and so much the more seasonable, as the King of Prussia has not at all answered what the Queen had a right to expect.

I will say no more concerning the disputes existing about these demands of his Royal Highness which relate more particularly to France.

That Prince will not insist upon any thing that is not necessary for the safety of his dominions; and the Queen does not doubt his Majesty will grant him what are so. But there are two articles, upon which he must be well informed, before he determines his immediate choice; and I confine myself to the communication of what her Majesty judges necessary to establish his Royal Highness's right to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, after King Philip and his descendants, and to secure to his Royal Highness the possession of the kingdom of Sicily.

You know, Sir, the Queen agreed with the King your master, that in the treaty for peace, the Prince who was to succeed to the Spanish Crown, after Philip and his descendants, should be named; and that all parties to the articles for the suspension of arms, should, by authentic instruments, acknowledge that Prince as successor to that crown: then, Sir, the Queen proposes that his Most Christian Majesty do directly declare his acknowledgment of the Duke of Savoy's right of succession to Spain and the Indies, after King Philip and his descendants; that he do promise, that King Philip and the States of Spain shall acknowledge him also; that the Princes of France, especially the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, shall approve of, ratify, and confirm every thing that shall be done for the acknowledgment of the said right of succession: that his

VOL. II.

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Most Christian Majesty do also promise to his Royal Highness, as well for himself as for King Philip, the execution of every thing that may be deemed necessary to secure to his said Royal Highness, and his said family, the succession to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, after the said King Philip and his descendants; and particularly, that he do engage, that King Philip shall, voluntarily, and by his royal authority, absolve his subjects from all oaths to the contrary, and for that purpose, shall revoke and annul them, as also all declarations whatever, made in favour of any Prince of his blood.

The most proper time for the execution of the above, appears to be that appointed for the settling of every thing relative to the article concerning the reunion of the two monarchies.

At that time also, the cession of Sicily and its dependencies, should be made by King Philip in favour of his Royal Highness; and her Majesty proposes to the Most Christian King to send directly explicit assurances to his said Royal Highness, that such cession will be made by authority, and in all requisite forms; that in the same instrument King Philip will declare, that he holds the kingdom of Sicily and its dependencies, for, and in the name only of his Royal Highness, who may, at all times, and whenever he pleases, take actual possession by virtue of the said act of cession. That King Philip will, in the mean time, absolve the Sicilians from their oath of fidelity to him, and will order them to acknowledge his said Royal Highness as their lawful King and Sovereign. That the galleys, and other vessels, belonging to Sicily, with their crews, be given up to his Royal Highness, with that kingdom, together with all titles, papers, and documents relating to the kingdom.

When his Most Christian Majesty has promised his Royal Highness, as the Queen proposes, the advantages and securities I have just mentioned, there will be no reason to doubt that prince will directly follow the example of Great Britain, and the peace between the Queen, his Most Christian Majesty, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, will be effected in a very short time.

In this treaty clauses may be inserted to guaranty to his Royal Highness the full enjoyment of the kingdom of Sicily and its dependencies; the right of succession to the Crown of Spain and the Indies thus established; and the possession of

of all that has been, or ought to be ceded, by virtue of the treaty of Turin, between the late Emperor Leopold and the said Duke of Savoy, November 8th, 1703.

I ought to desire you to send your dispatches to Turin by the Queen's messenger, rather than by one of your's, it will at present give less umbrage; in future it will be easy to adopt such measures with his Royal Highness as may warrant you to send a person of trust, who may be furnished with powers to treat and conclude with him.

Whitehall, July 18th, 1712.

I WAS going to dispatch this messenger, when I received the honour of your letter, of the 26th instant, N.S. which I read to her Majesty.

The Queen cannot but be greatly affected that the shedding of blood, and the miseries of war, should still continue, at a time when it depends upon her allies to restore the repose of Europe; she hopes the advantage gained by his Majesty's forces will contribute to conquer an obstinacy unexampled, and I have orders, Sir, to assure you, that her Majesty will neglect nothing that is just and honourable, to bring these enemies of peace to their senses. The most effectual means for the purpose is that upon which this letter principally turns, that is, to prevail upon his Royal Highness to make peace with France and Spain at the same time as the Queen.

When I wrote you my last, of the 12th instant, O.S. we apprehended that the Duke of Ormond might be forced to retire towards Dunkirk. He has managed better; and the possession of Ghent and Bruges will have the effect of making both the Imperialists and Dutch more reasonable. I have already cautioned the Duke to be upon his guard, and to strengthen the posts he occupies.

The Queen intends to withdraw all the British forces from Catalonia, and not to contribute, in the slightest manner, towards the expence of the war, agreeable to what I have had the honour to state in my preceding letter. With this view, the Duke of Argyle's instructions are drawn, and he sets off in a few days to superintend the execution of such orders as her Majesty has thought proper to give, to conclude the war in Spain; the Duke goes by way of France, and we do not think it necessary to wait for a passport for him. When at Paris, he will consult with you what use is to be made of the possession of Terragon. In the mean time, the Queen's orders are sent to Lieutenant-

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general the Earl of Barrymore, or to the officer, whoever he may be, commanding the British troops in Catalonia, to keep his forces united, and to guard the town of Terragon, until the arrival of the Duke of Argyle, or farther orders.

The Queen seizes, with the utmost satisfaction, the opportunity which now presents itself of pleasing his Majesty; and accordingly, positive orders are sent to Admiral Jennings, to suffer French vessels to pass free upon their return from the Levant. You are right in the supposition, that the Admiral could have no orders to refuse a convoy to the troops which the Emperor might send from Genoa to Catalonia; but the Admiral, and the Queen's Envoy at Genoa, have, for some time, had positive orders not to hire a vessel, or to contribute, in any shape, to the transportation of the troops. They will, without loss of time, have farther instructions for their conduct, until the arrival of the Duke of Argyle finishes the war in Spain.

By your messenger, who will be dispatched on Monday at farthest, I will send you fifty blank passports, and continue to send you as many by every messenger from hence; you will have the goodness to do the same, according to your proposal, in your letter of the 13th inst. N.S. and to which the Queen gave her consent, per mine, of the 12th instant.

As the messenger entrusted with this dispatch, has also that for Turin, as also her Majesty's orders above-mentioned, to Admiral Jennings, and the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in Catalonia, I must, Sir, beg of you to give such directions as may accelerate his journey as much as possible. I am, &c.

B.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 459.)

SIR,

Fontainebleau, July 28th, 1712.

THE letters you have done me the honour to write 12th....23d instant, are an exact confirmation of your former communications by the Queen's order, and the King is persuaded, that the instructions sent by you to the British Plenipotentiaries will have their due effect, both as to a general suspension by sea and land, and as to the immediate

mediate conclusion of a separate peace between France and Great Britain.

There is no other motive more powerful to inspire your allies with the love of peace; when the first gust of passion is over, we generally reflect more seriously upon consequences, and those who still oppose the re-establishment of the public repose, have now many reasons to wish they were cured of their frenzy.

But until correction attains its proper effect, it is very expedient to confirm and substantiate, in the solid manner you propose, what has been hitherto done to obtain a peace between France and Great Britain. And as the general suspension by sea and land is the first step, the King consents to all the articles detailed in your letter.

His Majesty also approves of the alterations proposed by the Queen in some of the conditions specified in the letter I had the honour to write to you the 19th instant, and, in general all your observations on the same subject. Thus, Sir, the term of ten weeks for captures made in the Mediterranean, is reduced to six weeks; and the term of ten weeks will comprehend captures made as well from the Channel, the seas surrounding the British Isles, and the North Seas to Cape St. Vincent, as from and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether it be in the ocean or the Mediterranean.

You are right in your judgment, that the King never pretended that the Queen of Great Britain should be debarred sending forces and ammunition to Gibraltar and Port Mahon; she will certainly please the Portuguese and Germans by her assistance to remove them from Catalonia; but the King consents to her doing this office of kindness to her allies, who otherwise scarce deserve her charity.

Much time will be saved, and the Duke of Argyle, or another officer, sent to Spain to execute the Queen's orders, will have a commodious journey, by passing through France: I hope for the honour of seeing the person whom her Britannic Majesty sends, and of offering him all the services in my power for the convenience of his journey.

The King dispatches a messenger to inform the Catholic King of all proceedings with her Britannic Majesty. You may be certain the blockade of Gibraltar will be raised, and the garrison and merchants there, will be perfectly at liberty to live and trade with the Spaniards.

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I expect the King will immediately receive the draft of the renunciation to be made by the King of Spain to the Crown of France for himself and his descendants. You know he has declared in Council his resolution on that subject, and that it was received with great applause. The act of renunciation will be solemnly registered, as I had the honour to inform you, in all the Parliaments of the kingdom.

These, Sir, are the measures adopted by the King, and, as you well know, in concert with her Majesty, for the firm and effectual separation of the monarchies of France and Spain, and to prevent their ever being reunited in the same Prince.

I hope two months will be sufficient to effect the renunciation of the King of Spain, and to register it in the parliaments. It will require more time to assemble the Cortes of the Spanish monarchy; but our principal and most essential point is, to procure the Catholic King's renunciation, and to register it in the Courts of France, where it ought to remain.

With regard to the extending the suspension of arms, I hope, Sir, it will be unnecessary, and that a good peace will precede the expiration of the term of two months. This uncertainty, with respect to the re-establishment of a perfect good understanding between France and England, must be removed as soon as possible; and we cannot too soon come to a definitive determination upon an affair whose conclusion is so much desired and considered as of advantage to both parties.

In the mean time, the King commands me to send you twenty passports, not only for the packets, which the Queen very properly wishes to establish this week, from Dover to Calais, but also for other English vessels, to whom you may think proper to distribute them. I intreat you, Sir, to send me also the same number of passports from the Queen of Great Britain, so that both French and English may begin to enjoy the blessings of peace, even before it be absolutely completed.

These primary effects of a good understanding will perhaps open the eyes of those, who are hostile to the general repose, and the dread of the consequences of our perfect correspondence, may make them more docile, than all the arguments hitherto urged, in vain, for their conversion.

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The King judges, as I have already noticed, that nothing will be more conducive to this, than a proper use of the towns you hold in the Netherlands. Agreeably to this, his Majesty thinks, that instead of recalling the Duke of Ormond and the forces under his command, they should be left in Flanders till the general peace.

The King's orders, containing the conditions of the suspension, were sent to the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, the 18th instant; the messenger in ordinary, who had them in charge as far as Valenciennes, though provided with a passport from the enemy, was stopped near that city, by some hussars belonging to the army of Prince Eugene; the letters were taken from him, and as they were not returned two days ago, this delay will prevent his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries being informed of his intentions, at the time when those of the Queen will have received the orders you sent them. I hope the messenger, whom the King dispatches to them this day, will be more fortunate in his journey, and make some amends for the delay.

As soon as the agreement for a general suspension by sea and land shall be signed, his Majesty will send out cutters to make it public in all the American colonies; and he supposes the Queen of Great Britain will do the same.

After informing you of what the King is willing to do to satisfy her Britannic Majesty, I could wish to pass over in silence the article respecting the Duke of Savoy, since it is as disagreeable to refuse as to be refused. I assure you, Sir, the Queen would not be so exposed, had not her demands, in favour of that Prince, been directly adverse to the interest, the justice, and the honour of the King.

Were we to give up to the Duke of Savoy what he demands beyond the Rhône, Briançon, and Fort Barrau, we should lay open the kingdom to him, by giving him the keys of, and leave Dauphiny to his disposal. Take the trouble, Sir, to examine only the map of the country, and judge if his Majesty could, with any sort of security to his provinces, grant such pretensions?

It would be contrary to justice, to covenant concerning the possessions of the Prince of Monaco, by giving up those rights to Menton and Roquebruno, which have always belonged to him; and we should expose him to the resentment, which the Duke of Savoy has long harboured against him, were we, contrary to treaties, to withdraw

the French garrison from Monaco, to suffer the Piedmontese troops to enter, and thus give the Duke of Savoy full scope for his revenge.

Besides these considerations, we must regard Monaco as a fortress which the King ought to keep for the security of Provence.

The Duke of Savoy knows too well the importance of these places, ever to hope that his Majesty will cede them to him; and I can assure you, Sir, that while he represents them to the Queen as of little consequence, he only insists upon having them in hopes that Sicily may be given to him as a sort of equivalent.

But you know the King's engagements to the Elector of Bavaria, and his Majesty has too good an opinion of the British Ministers, to suppose that any one of them would urge him to act contrary to his word and his honour. He judged that the Queen, knowing his intentions with regard to Sicily, had no other view of advantage for the Duke of Savoy, than the substituting him and his descendants, after the King of Spain, and the descendants of his Catholic Majesty, if in the course of time they should unhappily fall; but the King could never persuade himself, that her Majesty's intention was, to deprive the Elector of Bavaria, not only of the Netherlands, which the King of Spain had ceded to him, but also of the kingdom of Sicily, which his Majesty considered as a compensation for those Provinces. If the Elector was forced to give them up for the sake of the peace, it is equally the interest of France and England, that Sicily should not fall again into the hands of the House of Austria; but the King's honour is concerned to indemnify the Elector of Bavaria, on account of engagements entered into with that Prince.

One of two plans must therefore be adopted: either the Elector of Bavaria to obtain by the peace, the property and possession of the Netherlands, as ceded to him by the King of Spain, together with the restoration of his Electorate; or the kingdom of Sicily must be given to him, as an equivalent for the Netherlands.

If the first is agreed upon, the King will then strongly urge the King of Spain to give up Sicily to the Duke of Savoy; but without this stipulation, his Majesty is engaged to procure Sicily for the Elector, as he explained himself a long time since to the Queen of Great Britain.

You may say, Sir, her Britannic Majesty has it not in her

her power to secure the Netherlands for the Elector of Bavaria; but you will permit me to reply, that the Elector is already master of Luxemburgh, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport; that the Duke of Ormond is in Flanders with a large army; that it only depends upon the Queen's having troops in Ghent and Bruges, as she already has in Dunkirk; and that the Elector of Bavaria will give his free consent to the garrisoning those places with English troops.

Thus might Sicily be given to the Duke of Savoy; but it is necessary to inform you, that the uncertainty as to the disposal of that kingdom, affords at present additional power to the House of Austria to excite an insurrection. The discontent is great in that island; and the Sicilians, naturally restless, may easily be induced to favour the Austrians, if we do not speedily fix upon the Prince to whom this kingdom is to belong.

You will easily suppose, Sir, that, things being in this state, I can write nothing to Turin by your messenger, who passes through France. I should think other advantages might be procured for the Duke of Savoy, in the Milanese, and the obstinacy of the Court of Vienna might supply the pretence. Reflect upon this, if you please, and consider how much the Queen has already done for her ungrateful allies; that it would be glorious in her, to contribute to the happiness of a Prince so deserving as the Elector of Bavaria, and whose gratitude would certainly be equal to the benefits he would receive.

I ask your pardon for so long a letter, and am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 470.)

SIR,

Fontainebleau, July 28th, 1712.

AS we cannot too soon finish those affairs, the completion of which is equally the wish of both parties, the King judges it will accelerate the suspension, if he sends you the treaty ready drawn up and signed by me, by his Majesty's order; if the Queen approves of this expedient, she will have the goodness to direct it to be signed in her name. I should then transmit to you the King's ratification, subjoined to the copy received from you, by return of the messenger, now sent off, and thus we should forward,

ward, by many days, the publication and execution of the suspension.

The King leaves it to her Majesty to decide, whether this treaty should be signed in the manner I now propose, or at Utrecht? I believe you will experience no difficulty with respect to the conditions, as I copied exactly those you sent me in your last letter. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

I left a blank for the term of the suspension; the King referring it to her Majesty to fill up. It appears, however, necessary to observe, that a suspension for two months only has no relation to the terms stipulated for the mutual restitution of effects taken at sea. If the Queen wishes that the treaty now sent should be signed at London, as the King has ordered me to sign it here, I must entreat you to send me, beside the copy I request for my signature, her Britannic Majesty's ratification; and as soon as I receive it, I will send off a messenger with the ratification of the King.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 472.)

SIR,

Fontainebleau, July 28th, 1712.

I WOULD not mention in letters of business, my very sincere compliment upon the justice her Majesty has done to your important services. I dare assure you, that no one is more sensible of it than I am, and I earnestly wish, this favour may be a forerunner of every reward you deserve. You ought to expect this from so enlightened a Princess, who so well knows your zeal and abilities.

I beg you to believe that I shall always feel interested in your satisfaction, so truly am I, &c.

DE TORCY.

I hope M. Calandrini does me justice with you, Sir; he knows I omit nothing to settle his business; he knows also, that we are well disposed to please him, and, in the end, I hope the consequences will answer our good intentions.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 473.)

Whitehall, July 21st, 1712.

NO one can be more sensible than I am, Sir, of your kindness, and I return you my very humble thanks for the concern you, in so obliging a manner, take in the honour the Queen has just conferred upon me.

Nothing do I desire more than to deserve your esteem, and, such is my turn of mind, that the friendship of a man like you, would be more dear to me, than all the titles in the world. In this believe my sincerity, and that I am, &c.

B.

M. Calandrini is too fortunate in finding so generous and powerful a protector. His heart is alive to all your goodness. I hope, at last, the result will be equal to your good intentions; but, most certainly, I shall ever be under an obligation to you.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 474.)

SIR,

Whitehall, July 21st, 1712.

YESTERDAY evening, by la Vigne, I received the honour of your letter of the 28th inst. N.S. As I was then going to Court, I took the Abbé Gaultier with me, that he might be an eye-witness of the effect it might have. I can assure you, Sir, no letter ever produced two effects so opposite. The Queen saw, with the utmost satisfaction, that the suspension of arms was settled, and might be published in few days, which she looks upon as the most effectual method to make the States-General, particularly, more tractable, and to increase the number of those in this country who wish for peace. On the other hand, her Majesty fees, with much surprise and regret, the Most Christian King, at this late period, insisting, either that the Catholic Low Countries should be ceded to the quondam Elector of Bavaria, or that that Prince should be made King of Sicily.

The first proposition can never take place, because in the offers made by your Ministers at Utrecht, and in the plan
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of the general peace, drawn up in consequence of what passed between the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, and those of France; it is there said, that the Catholic Netherlands, except what shall remain with the King, and except Guelderland, shall belong, in sovereignty, to the House of Austria; and because we must begin a new war to force the Imperialists and Dutch to consent to it.

The quondam Elector of Bavaria is already master of Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport; it only depends upon the Queen's having troops in Ghent and Bruges: but, Sir, the States-General are in possession of the rest of these provinces: the allied army is very considerable, as well in number as in goodness of troops, and the check it received at the camp of Denain, will not disable it from the defence of conquests already made, when reinforced and supported by the Queen. In a word, Sir, it is neither agreeable to her Majesty's honour, nor her interest, to make war against her allies, ungrateful as they have been, in favour of a Prince, whose situation she has lamented, and for whom she conceived she had done enough, by promising to insist, at the treaty of peace, that part of those dominions, the whole of which he had lost in the war, should be restored to him.

The second proposition was, in truth, made in the plan I mention; but the Queen, so far from consenting to it, could never persuade herself that this article could possibly stop the negociation. Upon another subject you refer me to the map, permit me, if you please, to refer you to it upon this. Cast but your eye upon it, and you must acknowledge, that there is a very great inconsistency in the proposition of giving to the same Prince, the kingdom of Sicily and the Electorate of Bavaria: such a disposition would cause continual jealousy, and would prove the source of disputes and quarrels, particularly among those nations, whose strict union and indissoluble amity are the points of view to which we have so long directed our plans.

The Queen's Ministers are far from wishing that the King should act contrary to his word and his honour; but, Sir, after having exerted himself for his ally, as much as he could reasonably expect, something must be done for the sake of the peace, and the interest of an individual must yield to the general interest of Europe. You will doubtless feel the force of this argument, since you well know this
negociation

negotiation was begun and carried on, upon the supposition that the Queen should depart from some conditions, which, of right, she was bound to procure for her allies.

I will not weary you, Sir, with long reasonings. You see as plain as I do, of what consequence it is in the present crisis, that peace should be made between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The wise arrangements of Providence, have made that practicable now, which some time ago we dared not hope for; let us then avail ourselves of the opportunity, and not lose the fruit of our toil.

Much may be said as to the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy. Her Majesty is persuaded that France will have no cause to be alarmed at this Prince; but it is evident that, with less than has been offered to him, there will be great reason to be alarmed for him. The Queen is far from wishing to aggrandize him on the side of France, and at the expence of his Most Christian Majesty; she only intends his security, and has no doubt it may be effected to the mutual satisfaction of the King, and of his Royal Highness, in the treaty of peace between them, to which treaty the ultimate discussion of these points may be referred; but, Sir, I am ordered to tell you, that the Queen will in no wise recede from her proposal to the King, in my letter of 17th and 18th inst. O.S. concerning the right of his Royal Highness to the Crown of Spain, and the Indies, after King Philip and his descendants; and with respect to the immediate cession of the kingdom of Sicily to his said Royal Highness, she insists, and will always insist upon it; and after all she has done, and all she is to do, to secure the conclusion of the general peace, she thinks she is entitled to such a condescension on the part of his Most Christian Majesty.

You have often repeated to me, Sir, that there is no time to be lost: I agree with you: but we shall lose it, and continue so to do, until this point is settled. Our Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht will remain inactive; the Duke of Argyle's journey, who is going to Spain, and is, on his way thither, to concert with you the necessary means to finish the war, at once, in that country, will be deferred. The orders to be sent to-morrow to Sir John Jennings, who commands her Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, will be put off to another time; and, lastly, the conveyance

ance of the forces from Genoa to Catalonia, of which you complain, will be continued.

I shall wait, with impatience, the return of la Vigne; be pleased to send him back, Sir, with the utmost diligence, that both of us may know what we have to depend upon.

As it would not be proper that the dispatches, with which my messenger, who went from hence last Saturday, was entrusted, should go to Turin, I must beg you, Sir, in case you have detained him, to give him the inclosed order; and if, unfortunately, he has proceeded on his journey, have the goodness to send the same order after him by one of your messengers, who, speaking the language and knowing the route better, will certainly overtake him.

You are right, Sir, when you say a refusal must be disagreeable, both to him who makes it, and to him who receives it. I never received a letter that gave me more pain than that which arrived from you yesterday, and I assure you, I never wrote one with less pleasure than I do this.

I am, &c.

B.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 492.)

SIR,

Fontainebleau, August 4th, 1712.

I YESTERDAY received by one of your messengers, the honour of your letters of 17th, 18th, and this morning, that of the 21st July was delivered to me by the messenger I dispatched to you the 26th, and whom you sent back to me with la Vigne.

If my letter of the 28th gave you uneasiness, I assure you, Sir, I suffered no less when I found by the answer to it, that foreign interests stop the conclusion of the peace, at a time when it appeared as near as it was certain. I could not dread shipwreck when in sight of the harbour, and in spite of all new difficulties, I still hope, that the answer which I expect from you, Sir, to the letter I have the honour to write this day, will console us both, for the unhappiness our last letters have mutually occasioned.

For this purpose the Queen must have satisfaction upon the article relative to the Duke of Savoy, but she must also take into consideration his Majesty's engagements to the Elector of Bavaria, and assist him to make good his word, pledged to an ally, whose fidelity is irreproachable, and who
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has for many years been deprived of his dominions, for having stood firm to his promises.

It is very true, Sir, something must be conceded for the sake of peace, and it is very right that the interest of an individual should give way to the general interest of Europe; but you will not deny that the King has experienced the force of this argument; the cessions made by his Majesty, are proofs of it, add to this also, his offers for the sake of the general peace, the renunciation of the King of Spain, the number and importance of the districts he gives up, the positive and real assurances of the King's sincerity, which the Queen received before she entered into any engagement on her part. You must allow, Sir, that no monarch ever did so much for the sake of the peace, or ever extended so far his compliances for the restoration of the tranquillity of Europe.

His Majesty has neither disguised his engagements, nor his intentions, with respect to the Elector of Bavaria. You will recollect, the plan of the general peace, drawn up by the King's order; you will there find, that when your Plenipotentiaries demanded Sicily for the House of Austria, the King replied, that that kingdom was the only compensation which the Elector could have, if he were forced to give up his claim to the Netherlands; and that his Majesty, as well as the King of Spain, were engaged to procure him a remuneration for his losses, that therefore, on condition of having Sicily, he would give up his right to the Spanish Low Countries; that he would also, upon the same condition, make over to the Elector Palatine, for his life, and after him to Prince Charles of Neubourg his brother, the Upper Palatinate, with the dignity and rank of first Elector, because the title of King would remove any disgrace in the loss the Elector of Bavaria might sustain in his rank in the Electoral College.

This, Sir, is the substance of the plan I have quoted, and I only refer to it in my turn, to show you, that the King has not changed his mind in regard to the articles it contained. The Abbé Gaultier might often have told you, that his Majesty having well weighed all the conditions of it, would not relax in any one, and that he thought he gave the Queen of Great Britain a particular instance of his confidence, by depositing with her the secret of his ultimate intention.

Were

Were the King, at this day, to demand new advantages, the enemies of peace would certainly cry out, that the success of his Majesty's arms had altered his sentiments; but you know it is nearly four months since I mentioned what I have the honour to repeat to-day; and the King thinks he has now a right to expect, as much as formerly, some tokens of the Queen's wishes to please him. And certain it is, that none can be more grateful to his Majesty, than being enabled to accomplish his engagements with an ally, whom he can never abandon.

You may answer, that the Queen is of the same opinion, with respect to the Duke of Savoy; it was for this reason I observed at the beginning of my letter, that the Queen must have satisfaction upon the article relating to this Prince, and the King has resolved to consent to the principal part of her wishes, provided she will also assist his Majesty in procuring some satisfaction for the Elector of Bavaria. In the sequel of my letter, I shall propose such expedients as may be used.

The Queen demands in favour of the Duke of Savoy, that the King do immediately declare, he acknowledges the right of that Prince to the Spanish succession, after the Catholic King and his descendants; that he do promise that the King and the States of Spain shall acknowledge him also; that the Princes of France, especially the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, shall approve, ratify, and confirm every thing that shall be done for the recognition of the right of succession; that, moreover, his Majesty do promise the Duke of Savoy, as well for himself, as for the King his grandson, the execution of every thing that may be found necessary to secure to this Prince, and his family, the succession to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, in default of the Catholic King and his descendants; that he do promise particularly, that the King of Spain will, of his own accord and by authority, absolve his subjects from all oaths to the contrary which they may have taken; that he will recal and annul them, as also all declarations whatever, made in favour of Princes of his blood.

You see, Sir, by my letter of the 28th, that the King expected demands of this kind, for the substitution of the Duke of Savoy and his descendants, to the Crown of Spain. So that his Majesty has no objection to grant them, and to engage for the King his grandson, and the Princes of his

his blood, to execute the acts of recognition and confirmation specified in your's of 17th July.

He consents also, that these acts should be executed at the same time as the securities, to prevent the reunion of the two monarchies, are finally accomplished. But for this purpose, it is necessary, that the Duke of Savoy should be at peace with the King, and the King of Spain; a simple suspension will not do, and it were unjust to call a Prince to the succession of the Spanish Throne, who was still actually numbered among the enemies of that Crown.

It is, therefore, expedient that, as a general peace cannot yet be effected, a separate one should be made between France, England, Spain, and the Duke of Savoy.

Besides the substitution in favour of this Prince, the King of Spain, by the same treaty of peace, which is the most authentic act that can be made, will cede Sicily to him. He will, as you propose, declare, that by virtue of this cession, he holds, until the conclusion of the general peace, the kingdom of Sicily, for, and in the name of, the Duke of Savoy.

That this Prince, in execution of the treaty, may take possession of this kingdom whenever he pleases, as soon as the general peace is ratified. That, at the same time, the King of Spain will absolve the inhabitants of that kingdom from all oaths of fidelity to him, and order them to acknowledge the Duke of Savoy as their lawful King and Sovereign. That the galleys and other vessels belonging to Sicily, with their crews, shall be, at the same time, given up to that Prince, together with all titles, papers, and documents, relating to the kingdom of Sicily.

The other clauses you mention, Sir, for the security and guaranty of all conditions that may be agreed upon with the Duke of Savoy, shall also be inserted in the treaty, as also the promise to support him in the possession of what has been ceded to him, by the treaty concluded at Turin, November 8th, 1703, with the Emperor Leopold.

These, Sir, are the principal and most important parts of the Queen's demands in favour of that Prince, and which the King grants upon the following conditions:

First, That it be effected by a treaty of separate peace, between France, Great Britain, Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, and not upon the prospect of only a simple suspension of arms for a time.

VOL. II.

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Second,

Second, That the Queen of Great Britain do engage to procure, in concert with the King, the reestablishment of the Elector of Bavaria in his states and dignities, except the first rank in the Electoral College, which the Elector Palatine, and after him, Prince Charles his brother, are to enjoy, during their lives, as I before mentioned, together with a remuneration for the Elector, according to one of the two expedients I am now about to propose. The first, that Prince to keep the sovereignty and property of the two provinces in the Catholic Netherlands of which he is now in possession; that is to say, the Duchy of Luxemburg and the county of Namur, with the cities and fortresses of that name, and, generally, all their dependencies, as well as Charleroy and Nieuport. The King would even consent to dispose of Nieuport as her Majesty might judge most proper. By accepting this expedient, she would be obliged to enter into a war with her allies, in favour of a Prince whose situation she laments, for he is actually in possession of those provinces and places which the King proposes he should retain.

As it is even necessary, according to the rules of justice, that he should consent to forego his right to a possession legally belonging to him, by virtue of a grant from the King of Spain, should this first expedient not be agreed to, and the Queen of Great Britain still persist in referring all the Low Countries to the disposal of her allies, the second expedient which the King proposes, to obtain the Elector of Bavaria's consent to the cession of the provinces and places of which he is in possession, is to procure for him in exchange the kingdom of Sardinia. This equivalent, of small consideration in itself, will only give the Elector the title of royalty which he may regard as a kind of recompence for the rank he will lose in the Electoral College.

Notwithstanding the distance, and small connection between Sardinia and the Electorate of Bavaria, there is no inconsistency in the same Prince possessing both. Suffer me, Sir, to tell you, that neither was there any in giving the Elector the kingdom of Sicily, and far from considering this arrangement as likely to occasion continual jealousy and quarrels between France and England, it is much to be feared that the Duke of Savoy will make use of it to the prejudice of both nations.

It is already reported, that his design is to exchange Sicily

cily for the Milanese, and I beg you, will remember what you wrote to me, that England is not less interested than France to prevent that island falling into the power of the House of Austria.

The last condition which the King attaches to his consent to the demands made by her Majesty in favour of the Duke of Savoy is, that this Prince do desist from all ulterior pretensions he may form under the name of a barrier. His Majesty knows better than any person, the frontiers of his kingdom, and what is necessary for its security. He thinks he has done a great deal for the sake of the peace, by granting Exilles and Fenestrelles to the Duke of Savoy. He will grant nothing more, and as he has hitherto sincerely declared his intentions to the Queen of Great Britain, it would be contrary to that good faith always observed during the negociation, were the discussion of an article, which his Majesty is determined constantly to refuse, referred to the conferences at Utrecht,

I do not think, Sir, that I lose any time, when I candidly explain to you what is the King's opinion, what he is willing to do in consideration of the Queen, and, at the same time, his Majesty's engagements with his allies. His wishes to accomplish these engagements ought to merit the commendation of a Princess so sensible of true glory, and so attentive to the interests of her own allies.

A good understanding will soon be formed on solid grounds, and her Britannic Majesty has already received such proofs of the King's confidence, that I cannot be induced to suppose she will refuse to acquiesce with those arguments which oblige his Majesty to fulfil his engagements.

So that I hope the promises you made me in your former letters will be immediately executed. It would be distressing to think, that the delay in sending the Queen's orders to Catalonia, and to the coasts of Italy, should be productive of inconveniences much easier prevented than repaired. You are perfectly aware of the consequences, and you are very zealous for the peace; so that I doubt not you will represent to the Queen, in strong terms, the importance of concluding the work begun, and now so near perfection; it is for their common interest that it should be kept no longer in suspense at a time when foreign interests are alone concerned, and when the King yields to the Queen's importunity, every thing that the Duke of Savoy can ask that is most essential for him.

As

As you desired, me, Sir, to hasten and facilitate the journey of your messenger to Turin. I greatly fear that the one sent off, only eighteen hours after him, will not be able to overtake him. I am, &c.

DE TRECY.

To the Marquis de Trezy. (Page 505.)

SIR,

WHEN I RECEIVED THE O. S. 1712.

On Monday last I received the honour of your letter of the 4th of August, in which the Queen has commanded me to make known to you that she has ordered me immediately to render you my Court.

I shall set out for France next Saturday; I may arrive at Calais on Sunday, and I hope, before the end of the week, under the auspices of the Abbé Gaultier, to have the satisfaction of finding you at Fontainebleau.

You will have no objection, Sir, to my deferring till then what I have to say to you, upon the contents of your dispatch. Let me assure you, I accept the commission with which I am entrusted, with so much the greater pleasure, as I depend upon the goodness you have manifested towards me ever since I have had the advantage of corresponding with you.

Mr. Prior accompanies me, and flatters himself he shall be so fortunate as to remain with you.

I am, &c.

B.

END OF VOL. II.

Alphabetical Index to the letters in this Volume.

- Alloué (Marquis de) Page 109.
 Bathmar (Baron de) 172. 172
 } from, 168
 Batton (Genl) 331.
 Bedford (Mr) 406.
 Cadogan (Genl) 136. 258.
 Cambisgue (Mr de) 193.
 Dartmouth (Lord) 86.
 Drummond (Mr) 306.
 Harley (Mr) 185. 214. 262. 312. 323. 328. 343. 422. 490.
 Harrison (Mr) 202.
 Herriot (Mr de) 137.
 Hill (Genl) 425.
 King (Col) 240.
 Kaffei (Colonel) from - 127.
 to - 232. 310.
 Marschall (Mr de) 216. 235. 329. 414. 410. 424.
 Mesnager (Mr de) 197.
 Diamond (Duke of) from - 269.
 to - 267. 271. 278. 319. 320. 341. 369. 376. 380. 381. 411. 401.
 Pitt Rivers (Lord) 70. 139. 302. 347. 456.
 Pleniphar (a Little Col) 115. 170. 190. 198. 215. 230. 260. 321.
 Portman (Lord) 242.
 Puffin (Mr de) 214.
 Robinson (Bishop) 93. 133. 144. 242. 333. 346. 377. 407.
 Savoy (Duke of) 149.
 Scott (Mr) 195.
 Stafford (Lord) 1. 6. 20. 15. 22. 26. 29. 34. 46. 48. 54. 61. 69. 73. 80.
 82. 83. 85. 89. 106. 129. 145. 150. 161. 166. 175. 180.
 210. 256. 264. 269. 294. 300. 312. 417. 482. -
 Torrey (Marquis de) 71. 11. 12. 72. 125. 156. 205. 224. 231. 249. 262. 280.
 314. 351. 353. 364. 400. 434. 446. 473. 474. 492.
 From - 65. 68. 151. 153. 202. 203. 204. 219. 221. 243.
 248. 314. 336. 355. 357. 385. 391. 394. 407. 424.
 442. 459. 470. 472. 505.
 Watkins (Mr) 135. 154. 174. -

